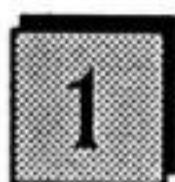


# HINDU NATIONALISM IN INDIA



CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATION

D.D. PATTANAİK

*Foreword by*

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*Dedicated to:*  
**Professor Rajendra Singh—Mananiya Rajju Bhaiya—  
Sarsanghchalak  
Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh**





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## FOREWORD

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Perhaps it is never too late to learn from the mistakes of the past and begin afresh. I think it would now be appropriate, after 50 years of Independence, in the midst of turmoil, to assess where we have gone wrong. For, it is obvious to everyone that the country is in a total mess and a decline in all walks of life has set in. No doubt, it is difficult to identify a single cause for the decline on all fronts—social, economic, educational, political, moral and intellectual—one cannot avoid generalization or the necessity of a paradigm-shift after investigating the complex phenomena of degeneration. Even at the risk of contradiction, I daresay that misconcepts about India's reality have caused the greatest havoc to the understanding of our people, their psyche, ethos and aspirations, the way of life and the accepted value-system.

If India has to emerge as a great country in the foreseeable future, for which, unfortunately, there are very few indicators, the first task, to my mind, is to check, what can be called, *mantra-viplav*, i.e., the word-explosion. Our whole political vocabulary has to be reshaped, revised and reconcepted. Roughly, for over a century, unending storming of wrongly motivated phraseology, emanating from western and communist sources, has gone unchallenged. This kind of language has warped the intellect and has landed us in our present plight. Our sights are not clear, our visions are blurred and like half-blind we are groping in infra-regions of illusions, deceptions and rigmarole.

"O India! O perfect Nation!  
O India that shall be!  
How long till thou take station?"

—Annie Besant

We have drifted from our moorings and have been chasing false ideals. We have chosen to follow the communist or the western liberal paradigms to the complete neglect of our own. The adoption of western model of nationalism and the communist model of multi-nationalism is one supreme example of our misdirection of goals. Nationalism, born of European experiences, and multi-nationalism, the creed of the Soviet Union—both have shown disastrous results respectively in terms of world wars, on the one hand, and the breakup of the Soviet Union, on the other. Nationalism precisely meant freedom from colonialism, self-determination and a unity of some common material interests. At best, it meant a self-governing community for agreed common goals.

Inspired by the liberal ideology of the west and reinforced by the American love for freedom, we, too, during our fight for Independence initiated the same pattern of thinking and action thereafter. For fifty odd years we did nothing by way of introspection to take the right path or formulate positive goals for charting a course destined for us. Lamentably, patriotism remained a forgotten creed and western nationalism became our true political religion.

Nationalism, brought in its train, problems of diversities, disintegration, separatism, secessionism and terrorism. Nationalism implied a process of appeasement of minorities and brought to fore the concepts of composite culture and multiplicity of religions and minorities. It tended to infuse a sinister self-conscious identity in smaller groups and diffused the prime loyalty to the country as a whole. Instead of emphasising the unifying forces and strengthening them, the ideology of multi-nationalism encouraged attacks on the very cultural



mainstream. Pseudo-secularism, thus, is the inevitable product of the foreign concept of nationalism that we wove into our constitutional fabric.

One of the most serious fallouts of our acute dependence on foreign terminology was the confusion of our traditional concept of *Rashtra* with the word *Nation* of foreign origin. *Rashtra*, misconstrued as *Nation*, like *Dharma* translated as Religion, created a whole lot of semantic misunderstandings, deviating and alienating us from the reality of our original thought processes. The Hindu version of *Rashtra* is not the same thing as the *Nation*. These two words carry different nuances, spirit, connotation and implications. The two words cannot be used interchangeably nor are they synonymous. The overlapping of these two words has done enormous damage to conceptual clarity.

The distinction between *Nation* and *Rashtra* is lost to our view. This has caused the term *Rashtra-bhakti* to erroneously mean loyalty to the nation rather than patriotism. The sense conveyed by the phrase *Desh-bhakti* is swept aside. Patriotism, in my view, evokes a very different sentiment than nationalism. The pure love for the country, as a whole, is the feeling behind the word *Rashtra*. The love for the country and its cultural unity is not the same thing as striving for nationhood, self-determination, sovereignty or structuring of a composite culture.

Aurobindo explains:

"But what is a nation? The *Shakti* of its Millions. What is a nation? What is our mother country? It is not a piece of earth, nor a figure of speech, nor a fiction of the mind. It is a mighty *Shakti*. . . . Come then, hearken to the call of the Mother. She is already in our hearts waiting to manifest herself, waiting to be worshipped."

"India is the *Bharat Shakti*—the living energy of a great spiritual conception, and fidelity to it is the very principle of her existence."

Mother I bow to thee!  
 Rich with thy hurrying streams,  
 Bright with thy orchard gleams,  
 Cool with thy winds of delight,  
 Dark fields waring, Mother of might,  
 Mother free. . . . !

"I am not feeling this only today that nationalism is a faith. It is a *Dharma*. I mean to say that *Sanatan Dharma* is itself nationalism for us. *Hindu Rashtrā* was born with *Sanatan Dharma* and prospers with *Dharma*. Whenever *Sanatan Dharma* degenerates, nation also suffers. *Sanatan Dharma* is identical with nationalism."

—Aurobindo

From Kabul-Kandhar (Afghanistan), to Brahmdesh (Myanmar), Siam (Thailand) and Shailendra Dweep Samooh (Indonesia): from Kashmir to Kanyakumari: from Himalayas, Kailash, Mansarovar, Karakoram, Hindukush: from Sindhu Sagar (Arabian Sea), Ganga Sagar (Bay of Bengal), Hind Mahasagar (Indian Ocean), and Singhal Dweep (Sri Lanka), from Brahmaputra to Sindhu, Panchnad, Ganga, Yamuna, Mahanadi, Kaveri, Saraswati, Narmada, Godavari, Krishna, Reva and Gandaki—this is eternal, *Sanatana-Dharmabhumi*, *Matrabhumi*, *Ptrabhumi*, *Punyabhumi*, *Tapobhumi* and *Karmabhumi* of the *Rishis* of yore, inherited by the Hindus; known in legends and scriptures as *Bharat-Khand*, *Bharat-Varsh* or *Jamboo Dweep*.

देवि भुवनमोहिनी नीलसिन्धु जलघोत चरणवत  
 पृथिव्या समुद्रपर्यताया एकराट्  
 उत्तर यत्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् ।  
 वर्ष तद् भारतं नाम भारती यत्र संतति ।।  
 हिमवत्समुद्रान्तर मुदीचीनं योजनसहस्रं परिमाणम् ।  
 समुद्र इव गाभीये धैर्येण हिमवान् इव ।

—Rabindra Nath Tagore

The inspirational literature comprises, mainly: The *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, *Puranas*, *Epics*, *Digh-Nikaya*, *Dharamsastra*, *Arthsastra*, *Thiru-Kural*, *Guru-granth Sahab*, and *Jain Scriptures*.

The holy centres of this geo-cultural entity are: Ayodhya, Mathura, Kashi, Haridwar, Kanchi, Avantika, Vaishali, Dwarika, Puri, Takshila, Gaya, Prayag, Patliputra, Vijaynagar, Indraprastha, Somnath, Amritsar, Badrinath, Kedarnath, Amarnath.

Hindu nationalism is pure patriotism. It is *Rastratva*: selfless love for the divine land, rivers, hills, forests, animals, humans at different levels of consciousness—from material to spiritual. It is spiritual-cultural-integral nationalism.

The name of the nation, Bharat, originates from king Bharat who was noble, virtuous, victorious king and shining model of Hindu manhood. When a woman has more than one child, we call her by the name of her eldest or most well known among her children. Bharat was well known and this land was called as mother. Bharat—the mother of all Hindus. Golwalkar contended that India was one nation, one people, one culture, since earliest time in human annals. He used to quote the trumpet cry of the *Vedas*—

पुण्याहवाचन अथर्ववेद  
भद्रं इच्छान्त ऋषयः स्वर्विदः  
तपो दीक्षा उपसेदुः अग्रे ।  
ततो राष्ट्रं बलं ओजञ्च जातम् ।  
तदस्मै देवा उपसं नमन्तु ॥  
(अथर्व-19/41/1)

“Overall the land up to the oceans, one nation  
Long ago our forefathers sang:  
The land to the north of the oceans and south of



the Himalayas is called *Bharatavarsha*, and *Bharatis* are her children,

—M.S. Golwalkar

"Chanakya, who has been held an authority on political science, has stated:

To the north of the oceans upto the Himalayas, the country is thousand yojanas in length."

*Dattopant Thengde in राष्ट्र*

As the most ancient people on earth, we have been more preoccupied with our commitments to the advancement and strengthening of our cherished values, codes of ethical beliefs and modes of search for truth. In other words, we have evolved a distinct way of life and a distinct identity. We have our own perceptions of destiny and role *vis-a-vis* mankind, and indeed, the whole universe. We have a philosophy and a synthetic worldview. We have sought and found answers to a whole lot of questions about life and existence. We have discovered God from an open mind and pursued the search for God without being fanatic or fundamentalist. We have a unique character and genius and an enlarged vision of *Sarvadharmasamabhava*. To preserve and strengthen these values and life-guidelines is patriotism, a duty that devolves on us as Hindus.

वन्देमातरम्, सुजलाम्, सुफलाम्,  
मलयज शीतलाम् सस्यशामलाम्, मातरम् ।  
शुभ्र ज्योत्स्ना, पुलकित यामिनीम्,  
फुल्कुसुमित, द्रुमदल शोभिनीम् सुहासिनीय सुमधुर भाषिणीम्,  
सुखदाम्, वरदाम्, मातरम्, वन्देमातरम् ।

—Bankim Chandra Chatterjee

The Hindu catholicity of outlook and the accompanying tolerance has been a great asset, but now-



a-days it is also showing the need for revision, especially in the face of hostile and pseudo-secularist forces who try to exploit this virtue as a weakness. The Hindus have been glorious people but they have fallen on evil days. Inculcation of patriotic spirit among the Hindus is a *sine qua non* for turning other converts from Hinduism to return into the Hindu fold. During the course of history, Hinduism—a great civilisation—has been polluted by alien influences. It is a curious phenomenon that Hinduism which had a tremendous capacity to assimilate alien cultures or sub-cultures has failed to do so in the case of Muslims, although they too are originally Hindus.

ज्योस्तुते श्रीमहन्मंगले शिवास्पदे शुभदे ।  
स्वतंत्रते भगवति त्वामहम् यशोयुता वन्दे ॥

हे भगवति स्वतंत्रतादेवि, तेरी जय हो,  
हे महान मंगलमयि, कल्याणमयि, शुभकारी,  
देवि, तेरी यशारचिता को मैं वन्दन करता हूँ ।  
तुम सूर्य का तेज हो, तुम सागर जैसी गम्भीर हो ।  
तुम्हें मैं वन्दन करता हूँ ॥

—V.D. Savarkar

A country, which has the immense potential to lead the entire humanity, is suffering under its own heels. A helplessness seems to have overtaken our society to face the challenges of religious fanaticism, secessionism, terrorism, communalism, and separatism. Economically, the country has been reduced to the status of a beggar surviving on the mercy of international finance. Patriotism alone is the anodyne for the serious maladies, for it demands a complete loyalty to the country and expects supreme sacrifice for the cause. Adherence to the interest of the country and the readiness to face all the challenges and crises is a part of the virtue of patriotism.

The Hindus have, over the ages, transmitted patriotism from generation to generation, imbibing in the

masses an unflinching devotion to the country as a whole. The word *Rashtra* signifies the country and all that it represents as a heritage, culture, tradition. *Desh-bhakti* is a call to the people to be prepared to give up every comfort when faced with inimical forces both inside and outside the country. *Rashtra* is not a mere geo-political concept, it is a category of thought which mystically keeps a patriot in a frame of mind to transcend all material and immediate interests and protect the motherland from all odds, calamities, aggressions and evils.

According to Dr. Bali Ram Hedgewar, patriotism is a cultural urge manifest in all beings in this country to treat everything the motherland has given to them as a blessing and a boon. It is an outer expression of *sanskara*—a subconscious feeling in every heart of a Hindu whose heart bleeds when the country suffers. The Hindu is one who would consider no price big enough for saving the country from disintegration and sabotage. For, in the protection of the country, he is seeking the protection of all that he has cherished and is indispensable to him as a responsible citizen. Patriotism, in this context, is a civilisational concern for the Hindu who is ever prepared to arm himself for fighting against all anti-patriotic forces, the way Ram waged a war against Ravan.

In this sense, patriotism invokes a greater emotional attachment to the motherland than nationalism can ever do. The mother and the motherland are both higher than heavens. Patriotism, unlike nationalism, involves a total dedication to the *Desh* or *Rashtra*.

जननी जन्मभूमिश्च ।  
स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी ॥

—Valmiki *Ramayana*

A patriot is spirited in love for anything that the *Rashtra* bestows on him by its benign benevolence and grace. It makes all the difference when this attachment is accompanied by reverence to values of universalism, humanity and humanness. The *Rashtra* acquires for him

sublime heights in terms of his willingness to accept loyalty, not governed by narrow economic benefits, political privileges, and security. His perfect atunement with the elevated consciousness, where a sense of belonging embraces the land, the geography, the mountains, the rivers, the art, the oceans, the flora and fauna, legends and scriptures, and above all, the wonderful people.

मन समर्पित, तन समर्पित और यह जीवन समर्पित  
चाहता हूँ मातृ-भू ! तुझको अभी कुछ और भी दूँ ।।

—R.S.S. Song

The persistent and notorious tirade launched by pseudo-secularist elements to denounce patriotism as revivalist, communal and obscurantist needs to be strongly countered by propagating positive concepts of the Hindu classical tradition in order to invoke a sense of pride in the glory of our ancient civilisation. Propagation of patriotism all over the country would reflect the people's desire and resolve to build up the most modern and scientific edifice on the *Shashtra* foundation. Tradition and modernity are now to be blended in a unique fashion, not attempted so far. The age-old lesson of keeping the country from Kanyakumari to Kashmir united has to be drilled into ears of the masses who are otherwise sought to be deflected from their righteous party by ill-motivated politicians and a bunch of misguided scholars who have, without a feeling of shame, distorted all that is noble in our culture.

जननी जगन्मात की, प्रखर मातृभक्ति की,  
सुप्त भावना जगाने हम चले ।।  
सदैव से महान जो सदैव ही महान हो,  
कोटि-कोटि कंठ से अखण्ड वंद्य गान हो,  
मातृ-भू की अमरता समृद्धि औ अखण्डता की  
शुभ्र कामना जगाने हम चले  
जननी जगन्मात की . . . ।। १ ।।

—R.S.S. Song



The crusade for people's regeneration, for which the soil is well prepared, should inject an emotional nimbus for the consolidation of constructive forces who want the country to be taken to the pinnacle of glory.

नमस्ते सदा वत्सले मातृभूमे  
 त्वया हिन्दुभूमे सुखं वर्धितोऽहम् ।  
 महामङ्गले पुण्यभूमे त्वदर्शे  
 पतत्त्वेष कायो नमस्ते नमस्ते ॥ १ ॥  
 प्रभो शक्तिमन् हिन्दुराष्ट्राङ्गभूता  
 इसे सादरं त्वां नमामो वयम्  
 त्वदीयाय कार्याय बद्धा कटीयम्  
 शुभामाशिषं देहि तत्पूर्तये ।  
 अजय्या च विश्वस्य देहीश शक्तिम्  
 सुशीलं जगद् येन नम्रं भवेत्  
 श्रुतं चैव यत् कण्टकाकीर्णमार्गम्  
 स्वयं स्वीकृतं नः सुगङ्कारयेत् ॥ २ ॥  
 समुत्कर्षं निः श्रेयसस्यैकमुग्रम्  
 परम् साधनं नाम वीरव्रतम्  
 तदन्तः स्फुरत्वक्षया ध्येयनिष्ठा  
 हृदन्तः प्रजागर्तुं तीव्राऽनिशम् ।  
 विजेत्री च नः संहता कार्यशक्तिर्  
 विधायास्य धर्मस्य संरक्षणम्  
 परं वैभवं नेतुमेतत् स्वराष्ट्रम्  
 समर्था भवत्वाशिषा ते भृशम् ॥ ३ ॥

—R.S.S. Prayer

That is, the love of the country *per se* is like the love of the mother and is heavenly! This love is selfless and involves a steadfast commitment to service and sacrifice. The preparation of every son of this land to sacrifice his life represents the conventional wisdom distilled out of both the *Dharmashastra* and the *Arthashastra* schools.

Therefore, we have not only to unlearn the false lessons of the recent past *via* nationalism imposed on us by alien ideologies, we have to relearn our forgotten lessons drawn from our own rich scriptural sources. The concepts of *Rashtra-bhakti* and *Desh-seva* have to be rendered in a new idiom and vocabulary. The whole language of politics which abuses *Bharat* as India is to be changed, and the shackles of intellectual slavery removed.

All the patriotic forces have to be mobilised for launching a massive public education crusade spirited in *Vande Mataram*. With a missionary zeal we have to disabuse the minds of the younger generations of the distortions perpetrated by misguided leaders and intellectuals of the Left variety.

Let us chant 'Vandemataram'  
Let us pray to Mother India.

We are not for caste or creed;  
be they Brahmins or not,  
they are great, because they are sons of this blessed soil.

Let us chant 'Vandemataram'.  
Let us pray to Mother India.

—Subramanian Bharati

The people are to be brought back, after centuries of serfdom, into the mainstream of the vibrant, rich intellectual culture bequeathed to us by our ancestors. The task is to resurrect *Bharat* from India, *Dharma* from Religion and *Dharam Sapekshawad* from Secularism. It is also to work out the principles of *Vasudheva Kutumbakam* and *Sarva Dharma Samabhava* in a world still not properly enlightened to grasp these truths. Above all, *Rashtratwa* has to be rescued from the clutches of West-oriented Nationalism. This, indeed, is the new

paradigm of thinking meant to demobilise the cancerous elements eating into the vitals of our rich heritage and enlightened intellectual culture inspired by spiritual experiences of the saints and sages of yore.

The indigeneous perspective gets strengthened in Dr. D.D. Pattanaik's four-volume work on *Hindu Nationalism in India*. He has studiously traced all the basic sources to build up an original thesis based on authentic evidence. In the present stage of our knowledge when unpardonable distortions prevail in Indian historiography, Dr. Pattanaik's volumes blaze a new trail in restoring to the concept of nationalism its pristine glory. Several intellectual cobwebs in our understanding of India's culture, which is predominantly Hindu, get swepted away. Dispassionate scholars would welcome this production. This work will set a pace for positive and creative thinking on the indological phenomenon so widely and deeply probed.

Delhi

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## **PREFACE**

---

India, the most ancient land of the world, endowed with rich culture, art, literature and philosophy, has been continuing with all her vital impulse. Her inherent potentiality lies with sublime heritage and veritable tradition. In this long span of her chequered history she has presented a definite way of life, and that lies with Hinduness. The Hindus thus constitute the substratum of India's national life. But unfortunately she has been subjected to a great deal of misrepresentation and apprehension. For instance, 'Dharma' has been equated with religious denomination. Every nation has its own language to express her heart and soul, and consequently every term and concept cannot be exactly translated into other languages conveying the same meaning. This kind of attempt seriously jeopardized and confused the national life in the Indian context.

It is not only the linguistic jugglery that brought Hindu way of life, Hindu nationalism and all that to utter misgiving, but certain phenomena, occurrences, deliberate distortions without and inertia within, led to ensure aberration in the annals of history. Ironically, though this is the ancient land with profound richness and genius, the country was exposed to repeated pillage paving the way for imposed rule and rape of indigenous life<sup>1</sup> for more than

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1. Proclamation of Mahammed Bin Quasim, Mahammed of Ghazni and others following invasion of India. (Ambedkar, B.R., quotes Dr. Titus, *Medieval India*, pp. 10-26, in *Pakistan, or Partitioning of India*, pp. 35-47).



thousand years. While it may be interpreted as catholicity of Indian life-style, it also exhibits the feebleness of the native people so much so that it led them to decay and decadence in times to come. Compounded together, they lacked introspection, confidence, self-dignity, self-pride, and became oblivious of their past. The overall picture by early nineteenth century was that what was called India had crumbled down abysmally—people becoming sluggish emaciated with dogmatic rituals, prejudices and social ignominies. It is at this juncture that India threw up a series of great savants ensuing motion of history swerving on the right track.

The attempt here is to define nationalism, probe its origin, and arrive at the conclusion of Hindu foundation of Indian nationalism, which is distinguished from theocracy and free from any narrow shackle of regimentation as demonstrated by the great thinkers and activists since nineteenth century in a sincere bid to harmonise and rationalise them in a proper perspective. There is a lack of a crystallised work on the concept and trend of Hindu nationalism with reference to modern India. Though work on Indian thinkers and varied schools of thought is made available in library-shelves, it has been a matter of great intellectual stir to discern the entire panorama of Hindu nationalistic ideas, movements and successive developments in a consolidated spectrum. I hope this is accomplished in the present work.

This is not a work on history as such, though historical references beset it. The present work is primarily historical, and hence empirical. It is also comparative and philosophical whenever the context demands. Since it is not a purely historical work, it is very often not chronological. Certain points have often been repeated in certain phases to make the given point relevant. Precisely, this is a macro study synthesising political history, political thought, dynamics of political theory and contemporary politics.



Though basically there are two dimensions of the present work, viz., the concept, and the trend of Hindu nationalism, there is no strict cleavage between the two while presenting. They are inextricably related, and therefore, arranged in a pattern scattered over four volumes.

Volume 1 deals with the critical theoretical and ideological aspects of nationalism, both from western and Hindu nationalist standpoints—with adequate explanation of expression 'Hindu' and whatever it implies. It is accompanied with the vexed problem of secularism and national integration. Volume 2 deals with the trend of Hindu nationalism in modern India. It must be clarified that when the term trend is used it comprises the entire wavelength of the ideas expressed and movements launched right from the last quarter of nineteenth century to the present day. In other words, it tends to establish continuity in the whole epoch. It also reflects the conceptual dimension. Volume 3 explains the ideal and characteristics of Hindu nationalism deducible from its own genesis. It has been divided into two Parts. The first attempts to clarify the aspersions cast by the critics, which erases various misreadings pertaining to it. The second is a humble bid to explore their distinct perception and emphasis on diverse issues and ideals entailing their cause. Hence, the first Part has been termed as the Negative aspects while the second Part as the Positive aspects. Volume 4 comprises the ideas of the thinkers of non-formal school—which means, those not technically clubbed with the Hindu nationalists, but whose ideas send feelers on Hindu foundation of India. They are obviously the stalwarts of freedom struggle.

I avail this opportunity to express deep gratitude to Prof. Balraj Madhok, Sri. K.S. Sudarshan, Sri K.R. Malkani, Prof. Devendra Swaroop, Thakur Ram Singh and Prof. M.M. Sankhdher—all outstanding luminaries in the given field, for their encouragement to crop up this work. I am also indebted to Indian Council of Social

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Sambalpur

D.D. PATTANAİK

# I

## CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM

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Let certain space be consumed to air the aspersion cast by the critics of nationalism. That nationalism "is a divisive force in a world which is growing more and more interdependent", observes Hans Kohn, "a force capable of producing bitter tension and one-sided self-righteous judgement, that threatens the national solution of national conflicts."<sup>1</sup> To U.U. Zagladin, nationalism represents a special danger for the process of the revolutionary transformations of the world. The main function of nationalism, whatever its form, he continues, is to split, divide and fragment the international working class and also the advanced contingents of the national liberation movement<sup>2</sup>. Writing in 1862 Lord Acton comments that nationality does not aim either at liberty or prosperity, both of which it sacrifices to the imperative necessity of making the nation the mould and measure of the state. Its course will be marked with material as well as moral ruin, he writes.<sup>3</sup> He observes in his "Essay on Liberty" that nationality does not only aim that, but creates a vicious atmosphere for world progress.<sup>4</sup>

M.S. Vairanapillai blasts nationalism as chauvinist, aggressive and militant.<sup>5</sup> Ravindranath Tagore is very vocal. He hurled nationalism as inimical to individual liberty and humanism. In his words, "Our history, our



religion, our society, our family, none have recognised the ascending of the cult of Nation."<sup>6</sup> He composed a Bangla poem entitled "The Sun Set of the Century" in 1917, which means, "The naked passion of self-love of Nations, in its drunken delirium of greed, is dancing to the clash of steel and the towelling verses of vengeance.... The hungry self of the Nation shall burst in of violence of fury....For it has made the world its food...."<sup>7</sup> Again to quote him, nationalism is "organised self-interest of a whole people", "self-idolatry", "the organisation of politics and commerce for selfish ends", "an organised power for exploitation."<sup>8</sup> So Jay Prakash also echoed: "We are living in a time when nationalism, as we practise it, creates more problem than it solves."<sup>9</sup>

Prof. Toynbee dubs: The evil element in nationalism under its many names, 'Chauvinism', 'Jingoism', 'Prussianism' is the one thing in our present European civilisation that can and does produce the calamity of war. If our object is to prevent war, then the way to do so is to purge Nationality of this evil."<sup>10</sup>

Thus, nationalism has been variously dubbed as narrow, chauvinist, aggressive, racist, fascist, militant, imperialist and so on. The Marxist school does not lag behind in the syndrome, which discerns nationalism as a tactics of bourgeois society."<sup>11</sup> In the words of Ramsay Muir, "Nationalism in its worst and most chauvinist form, militates naked and unashamed.... The national spirit is hostile to peace when a nation feels itself unjustly divided and subjected or denied the opportunity for the development of its characteristic modes of life."<sup>12</sup> His analysis adds, "The forces in the life of Europe that has been most hostile to the international idea, that is, to the peaceful and organised co-operation of the European states, may all be resumed under the spirit of commercialism and the spirit of militarism."<sup>13</sup>

Bulk of the space may be spared if this kind of observation continues. Inkling is got. Very objective of

the present work is to present the rational dimension of nationalism comprehensively, which shall be crystal-clear in pages to come. Yet a little clarification may be sought instantly regarding Tagore's observation. It was his reaction during the course of World War I when the Great Powers were engaged in naked aggression and holocaust. It was not the display of veritable nationalism, but an aberration, and unfortunately it assumed the sovereign thought-structure of University shelves the world over. Lest, it needs vigorous re-appraisal in the light of varied nationalisms, particularly Oriental Nationalism with distinctive features in the subsequent chapters.

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When the factor of nationalism is referred at common parlance it unambiguously spells the kind sprouted in the West. Well, as a matter of polemic let this angle be probed. It is traced back to the days of Holy Roman Empire in 800 A.D., while some others fish their eyes to the days of Renaissance and Reformation. One scholar feels that the modern nation-states of Europe were born out of the dissolution of the medieval universal community as symbolised by the Holy Roman Empire and the Roman Catholic Church,<sup>14</sup> which covers seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe.<sup>15</sup> Well established authority on nationalism Hans Kohn views that the concept of nationalism emerged out of Renaissance and Reformation.<sup>16</sup> Consequently Machiavelli is regarded as the prophet of nationalism.<sup>17</sup> During this period the concept of "political nation" or "state nation" cropped up with territorial consolidation and social assimilation.<sup>18</sup>

The Treaty of Westphalia, 1648 is said to be the trendsetter of the system of European national development. Few years earlier, i.e., in 1625 Hugo Grotius had unleashed a massive work entitled "De jure Belli ac Pacis" (The Laws of War and Peace) with the underlying hypothesis of existence of nations.<sup>19</sup> Bernard Joseph has well founded basis to conclude that in the said century



the term nation was used to describe the population of a nation in respect of its racial unity, and this meaning has in a large measure persisted upto this day.<sup>20</sup>

Nonetheless it is widely believed that the French Revolution constitutes the harbinger of the nationalistic era when it equated the nation with the people. G.P. Gooch feels that nationalism is the child of the French Revolution.<sup>21</sup> Hans Kohn also corroborates it, that the French nationality was born of the enthusiastic manifestation of will in 1789.<sup>22</sup>

Prof. Harold J. Laski differs a little and writes that modern nationalism is broadly speaking, hardly older than the first partition of Poland, and adds that nineteenth century was, above all, the epoch of nationalist development.<sup>23</sup>

The term nation developed in Europe along with the term state, and gained momentum with the march of history. Both the terms nation and nationality were clubbed together in nineteenth and twentieth centuries since it was meant that a set of people were likely to dwell under one political organisation. Unification of Italy and unification of Germany provided boost in the effort. The first World War ensued the right of self-determination, which provided that homogeneous set of people in a given land ought to live under one political banner. C.J.H. Hayes defines national self-determination as the right of individuals to determine the sovereign state to which they would belong and the form of government under which they would live.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, he hastens to believe that "nationalism is a modern, a very modern idea."<sup>25</sup>

Coining phrases like International Law, the League of Nations, and the United Nations beset the existence of nations. But the problem in West is not so simple. It has been implying different connotations under different backdrops. Prof. Hayes, therefore, classifies nationalism under Humanitarian, Jacobin, Traditional, Liberal and

Integral Nationalism.<sup>26</sup> He owes his anatomy to varied forces of history. In his pioneering work "Nationalism: A Religion" Hayes gives vent to English nationalist evolution as the citadel of western perception in the discipline. In every work Hayes begins with landed aristocratic tradition and passes through European revolution, war, imperialism and ends with economic nationalism. To K.R. Minogue, European style of nationalism begins with the French nationalism and reaches climax in German Nazism.<sup>27</sup> This pattern has been the characteristic analysis of other great authors like Hans Kohn, Gilchrist beside others. However, Renan makes an exception in his study who relies more on idealistic aspect conforming more or less to Hegelian and Platonic concept. But Mazzini was placed as the spiritual father of European nationalism when he carried aloft the banner of nationalism to unify Italy spelling the homogeneous tendencies of the people within the bound of a definite geographical expression.

There is no uniformity of views while interpreting the conceptual foundation of nationalism. Aristotle perceived nationalism as a phenomenon of harmonious natural growth, qualitatively identical with the love for family and home,<sup>28</sup> while the later days liberals did not probe anything like 'natural' in it, rather they felt that a nation was a matter of legal edifice.<sup>29</sup> There are even more narrow interpretations—that nationalism is a mere political reaction to the Napoleonic conquest<sup>30</sup> and so on.

Anwarul Haq makes an account of the evolution of nationalism thus: The Hundred Years' war between Britain and France, Luther's Reformation, Henry VIII's love for Anne Bolyne and his conversion to Protestantism in the all-out bid to marry her, the Napoleonic Wars, the thoughts and deeds of Machiavelli, Mazzini and Mussolini in Italy and Fichte, Hegel and Hitler in Germany, and the miraculous advance of science and technology helped nationalism and made it into a world-creed.<sup>31</sup>

It is better to end the deliberation referring the



conclusive study incorporated in Britannica Encyclopaedia, which holds thus: "Throughout history men have been attached to their native soil, to the traditions of their parents and to established authorities; but it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that nationalism began to be generally recognised sentiment moulding public and private life and one of the great, if not greatest, single determined factors of modern history....Actually the American and French Revolutions may be regarded as its first powerful manifestations...Thus the nineteenth century has been called the age of nationalism in Europe while the twentieth century has witnessed the rise and struggle of powerful national movements throughout Asia and Africa."<sup>32</sup> However, the Encyclopaedia mentions that "the first full manifestation of modern nationalism occurred in seventeenth century England, in the Puritan Revolution....., which gave rise to liberal and humanitarian nationalism". "From the end of the eighteenth century.... poets and scholars began to emphasise cultural nationalism first. They reformed the mother tongue, elevated it to the rank of literary language. . . and delved deep into the national past. Thus they prepared the foundation for the political claims for national statehood soon to be raised by the people in whom they kindled the spirit."<sup>33</sup>

Objective of the current analysis is to unfold the vicissitude of western thought process on nationalism, and it can be ended with few classic definitions.

Earnest Barker defines a nation as a body of men inhabiting in a definite territory, who normally are from different races, but possess a common stock of thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted during the course of a common history who on the whole and in the main though move in the past than in the present, include in that common stock a common religious belief; who generally and as a rule use a common language as the vehicle of their thoughts and feelings, and who besides



common thoughts and feelings, also cherish a common will, and accordingly form, or tend to form, separate state for the expression and realisation of that will.<sup>34</sup>

Maritan defines a nation as a community of people who become aware of themselves as history has made them, who treasure their own past and who love themselves as they know or imagine themselves to be.<sup>35</sup>

Stalin defines nation as a historically evolved community of people which is characterised by the following hallmarks : community of language, community of economic life, community of psychological make up manifest in community of culture.<sup>36</sup>

Ramsay Muir puts that the nation is a body of people held together by such a multitude of common interests and common thoughts that they easily and naturally understand one another that they are conscious of 'belonging together', that they readily accept and submit a common body of laws and a social order, and that they will be ready, as if by instinct, to sub-ordinate all merely sectional interests to the common welfare in case of need.<sup>37</sup> In another context he held that the nation as a body of people who feel themselves to be actually linked together by certain affinities which are so strong and real for them that they can live happily together, are dissatisfied and when united, and cannot tolerate subjugation to people who do not share those ties.<sup>38</sup>

Robertson holds the opinion that the nation-state describes a context in which the whole of a geographical area that is the home-land for people who identify themselves as a community because of shared culture, history and probably language and ethnic character, is governed by our political system.<sup>39</sup>

To Earnest Gellner, nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones.<sup>40</sup>

Hans Kohn establishes that "nationalism is a mind, permeating the large majority of a people and claiming to permeate all its members; it recognises the nation-state as the ideal form of political organisation and the nationality as the source of all creative cultural energy and of economic well-being. The supreme loyalty of man is therefore due to his nationality, as his own life is supposedly rooted in and made possible by its welfare."<sup>41</sup>

Arnold Toynbee differs a little and mentions, "Like all great forces in human life, it (nationalism) is nothing material or mechanical, but a subjective psychological feeling in living together. This feeling can be kindled by the pressure of one or several factors, as a common country, language or tradition."<sup>42</sup>

Louis Snyder's definition is widely quoted, who spells nationalism as a condition of mind, feeling, a sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined geographical area, speaking a common language, possessing a literature in which their aspirations are expressed, attached to common traditions and customs, venerating their own heroes and in some cases, having the same religion.<sup>43</sup>

A technical distinction is laid out on nation, nationality and nationalism. D.R. Heater remarks that nationalism is a social attitude which makes nation and nationality the over-mastering, centripetal force, to which must gravitate the whole fabric of nationality. He again adds that what nation and nationality denote is a distinct group pattern, nationalism is its moving spirit and its motivating force. The former gets exclusive loyalty; the latter lives and dies to feed that focus of total human activity, both individual and collective.<sup>44</sup> Another author sums up thus: "Nationalism implies three words, viz., nation, national and nationalism. Nation is a collective noun signifying a certain form of aggression to describe one of the individuals forming part of a nation. National also represents an individual attached to one's country.

Hence nationalism means the patriotic feeling or principles or efforts and policy of independence ....nationalism determines patriotism and the political consciousness of the people."<sup>45</sup>

Further A.E. Zimmern outlines the following differences between nationality and state in the poetic syntax<sup>46</sup>—

“While nationality is subjective,  
Statehood is objective;  
While nationality is psychological,  
Statehood is political;  
While nationality is a spiritual possession,  
Statehood is an enforceable obligation;  
While nationality is a way of feeling,  
Statehood is a condition inseparable from  
all civilised way of living”.

Therefore, Barbara Ward feels that the nation-state has proved to be the master institution of the modern world.<sup>47</sup> Likewise, A.H. Birch concludes, for all its limitations and problems, nationalism has proved to be the most successful political doctrines ever provided.<sup>48</sup> J.H. Carton underlies that “nationalism is now obviously a phenomenon, vitally affecting both the material and intellectual development of modern civilisation. It tends more and more to influence the economic and spiritual as well as the political relationship of mankind.”<sup>49</sup>

The foregoing analysis obviously underlies certain inextricable elements. First in the direction is race though it is dubbed from certain quarters as racist syndrome.<sup>50</sup> But the term nation itself has been derived from the Latin term ‘natu’,<sup>51</sup> which means native, race, origin or birth, and even loosely employed to denote community, people, society or folk.<sup>52</sup> Byod C. Shafer refers its signification as “I am born.”<sup>53</sup> Gilchrist subscribes the view that race constitutes the most fundamental



imperative of nationalism.<sup>54</sup> This factor, to him, distinguishes, for instance, Englishmen from the Chinese.<sup>55</sup> It is true that it is quixotic to determine a pure race. Yet, it provides a kind of feeling of oneness that "who am I?" "Who is my ancestor?" and thus it leads the individual to identify and integrate with the society.

Religion is also a great cementing chord. Secularisation of state phenomenally made the nation divorced from this element, and many modern authorities marginalise its role.<sup>56</sup> Notwithstanding this kind of attempt, religion plays a vital role in maintaining human relationships and achieving consolidation. A.H. Birch categorically states that religions of Europe have played decisive role in the evolution of nationalism.<sup>57</sup>

C.J.H. Hayes holds that language and traditions are bases of nationalism.<sup>58</sup> Corroborating with this fact Ramsay Muir adds that language also means a literature, a common aspiration of great ideas, a common heritage of songs and folk-tales embodying, and impressing upon each successive generation, the national point of view.<sup>59</sup> A language is supposed to be the tongue or voice of a people. Noah Webster considers language as a bond of national union.<sup>60</sup> Yet, certain school is afraid of domination of a national language leading to a racist arrogance.<sup>61</sup>

Culture is another factor which buttresses the cause of nationalism. It is not to be employed in narrow sense but which knits the individual with the society *vis-a-vis* enthrones the individual with moral code of conduct. Fisher interprets cultural solidarity as most safe.<sup>62</sup> In Gilchrist's estimate community of language, tradition and culture are closely connected with the community of race.<sup>63</sup> Hugh Seton also puts forth common culture as the element of nationality.<sup>64</sup>

These factors are supplemented by naturally defined territory as far as possible. Anthropologically it influences

in shaping a certain kind of physique and psyche distinguishing them from the rest, and consequently it creates a definite ethnicity. Therefore, Prof. Morgenthau believes that the most stable factor upon which the power of a nation depends is obviously geography.<sup>65</sup>

Rousseau laid stress on customs and traditions for inheritance of nationalities.<sup>66</sup> To Ramsay Muir it is indeed the tradition that has always been the great maker of nations.<sup>67</sup> Dawa Norbu maintains that tradition connects a nation with its past which provides inspiration and a sense of continuity.<sup>68</sup> Common heritage and point of honour may also be clubbed with it. Lord Bryce sums up these factors embedding that nationality refers to a group of people who are psychologically and emotionally bound by the common ties of language and literature, ideas, customs and traditions.<sup>69</sup>

Foregoing analysis presents basically political nationalism or territorial nationalism. Britannica Encyclopaedia unequivocally mentions that the principle was generally recognised in the age of nationalism that each nationality should form a state and that the state should include all members of that nationality.<sup>70</sup> Tara Chand comments that nation is a purely territorial, secular and political concept, and religion, race and language have no necessary relevance to it.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, Earnest Gellner holds that nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones.<sup>72</sup>

Another western school visualises nation in term of power-games and war. It is evident that C.J.H. Hayes's most adult life was devoted to the study of nationalism and that is on the eve of World War I.<sup>73</sup> But he goes back to eighteenth century when "suddenly a philosophy of nationalism emerged in the midst of dynamic and colonial wars and of the popular unrest occasioned by them."<sup>74</sup> Hans Kohn believes that nationalism is an important factor in preventing any one or two of the strongest powers



from establishing their hegemony over the whole globe or over a large part of it.<sup>75</sup> Criticism lamented in initial pages do strongly vindicates this aspersion. It leads C.R. Das to comment that nationalism in Europe is an aggressive nationalism, a commercial nationalism of gain and loss. The gain of France is the loss of Germany and the gain of Germany is the loss of France. Therefore, French nationalism is nurtured as the hatred of France. It is not yet realised that "you cannot trust Germany without hurting Humanity. . . that is European nationalism."<sup>76</sup>

The Marxists obviously look at nationalism as a capitalist contrivance. Karl Marx dismisses it as a characteristic bourgeois society that would disappear in the risking new society.<sup>77</sup> It is explained by Prof. Bipin Chandra thus : that nationalism developed in large parts of Europe as a part of bourgeois's ideological ensemble and of its ideological political struggle against the feudal classes and that from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, nationalism has been used by the ruling classes of Europe, USA and Japan to keep the working classes in a sub-ordinate position.<sup>78</sup> Prof. Ravinder Kumar senses the emergence of new classes in society, arising out of commercialised agriculture and the industrial mode of production.<sup>79</sup> Another author probes militarist and capitalist consolidation under nationalism.<sup>80</sup> M.N. Roy had warned that revolutionary struggle of a colonial people for freedom could not succeed under the banner of nationalism.<sup>81</sup> This school also spurned nationalism as of imperialist and fascist design.

Aforementioned schools have no community of views; but they are apparent to be palatable on the point that nationalism is somewhat mechanical and material outfit. However, there are some others who add dose of ethos, culture, soul or spirit factors to it. It is very much quote-worthy to prolong the deliberation.

To Edmund Burke, the nation is a divinely inspired

union of the past, present and the unborn generations, a historical organic personality embodying the moral essence derived from the experience and wisdom of the ages.<sup>82</sup>

Earnest Renan is most representative of this school, who sketches nation as a living soul, a spiritual principle arising not only out of common memories, sacrifices, glories, affiliations and regrets, but also out of the historically determined will to live together to wish to do more of them, "here is the essential condition to be a nation". He holds that two things constitute this soul or the spiritual principle. "One is the past, the other is the present."<sup>83</sup> One is the common possession of a rich heritage of memories; the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to preserve worthily the undivided inheritance which has been handed down. Man does not improvise. The nation, like the individual, is the outcome of a long past, of efforts, and devotion. Ancestor worship is, therefore, all the more legitimate, for our ancestors have made us what we are. A heroic past, great men, glory, I mean glory of the genuine kind,—these form the social capital, upon which a national idea may be founded.... The Spartan hymn, 'We are what you were; we shall be what you are', is in its simplicity the national anthem of every land....to have suffered and rejoiced, and hoped together; all these things are worth more than custom houses in common.....'to have suffered together' for indeed, suffering in common is a greater bond of union than joy. As regards national memories, mournings are worth more than triumphs; for they impose duties, they demand common effort.<sup>84</sup> "The nation, like the individual, is the fruit of long past spent in toil, sacrifice and devotion". So, nationalism is the manifestation of a separate national existence for those who are bound by this kind of kinship.<sup>85</sup> After all, Renan considered nation as metaphysical entity.<sup>86</sup>

Mazzini, who is considered as the spiritual father of western nationalism, holds, "Our country is our home,



placing there in a numerous family that loves us and whom we have; a family with whom we sympathise more readily, and whom we understand more quickly than do others; and which from its being centres round a given spot to a special branch of activity."<sup>87</sup>

W.B. Pillsburg's writing very well finds relevance here—that nationalism is an affair of the mind or the spirit. "A nation is a group of individuals that feels itself one, is ready within limitation to sacrifice the individual for the group advantage that prospers as a whole, that has groups of emotions experienced as a whole, each of whom rejoices with the advancement and suffers with the losses of the group and calls nationality as a mental state or community in behaviour."<sup>88</sup> Sidgwick's observation has got striking resemblance with this. He outlines, "What is really essential to the modern conception of a ....nation is merely that the persons composing it should have, generally speaking, a consciousness of belonging to one another, of being members of one body, over and above what they derive from the fact of being under one government, so that, if their government were destroyed, by war or firmly together. When they have this consciousness, we regard them as forming a nation, whatever else they lack."<sup>89</sup> Ironically Stalin's observation runs thus: that a nation is not formed out of mere common economic or political interests of a people residing in a common territory but it is a community of spiritual consciousness.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, D.B. Heater holds that nationalism is a frame of mind, a life-attitude and a character-orientation.<sup>91</sup>

This kind of nationalism finds solace with cultural nationalism, which is abundantly unfolded by Hayes. His study is that historical traditions are matters of culture, and so is language. Together they constitute the cultural group of people who speak a common language (or closely related dialects) and who possess a community of historical traditions (religious, territorial, political, military, economic, artistic and intellectual). When such



a group—such as nationality, he continues, cherishes in a marked degree and extolls, its common language and traditions, the result is cultural nationalism. Cultural nationalism may exist without political nationalism, he asserts.<sup>92</sup>

In the long-run it can be summed up that western nationalism is primarily territorial, political, secular and material though certain amount of cultural nationalism may be smelt and some authors have made powerful contributions to it. It is concerned more particularly with political development, constitutional progress, economic growth, industrial and technological revolution, convulsion within and conflict without. It ends with imperialism and fascism carrying dirty adjectives for nationalism. Under common parlance of political anatomy state and nation became convertible terms; and this precisely demonstrated the think-tank of the West, particularly in the stream of utilitarianism. Yet they clamoured for ushering in a world order in the form of the League of Nations, the United Nations and other ancillary organisations. This set of thinking induced that nationalism is inimical to internationalism and world progress and tinged with war hysteria. This analysis, though widely endorsed in intellectual galaxy, contains half-truth and even no truth judged from Indian standard if one would have a close look historically, philosophically and etymologically which is the burden in the subsequent chapters.

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\*\*C.J.H. Hayes in his work "Nationalism: A Religion" enumerates

the following contents which reveals the characteristic thinking on chronology of western nationalism.

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42. Toynbee, A.J., Nationality and War, p. 13.	
43. Synder, Louis, Global Mini Nationalism: Anatomy or Independence, Preface, p. xvi.	
44. Heater, D.B., Political Ideas in the Modern World, p. 6. Like many others he views nationalism as a frame of mind, a life- attitude and a character-orientation, p. 8.	
45. Awasthi, A.B.L., Indian Nationalism, Vol. I, p. 1.	
46. Zimmern, A.E., Nationality and Government, p. 51.	
47. Ward, Barbara, Nationalism and Ideology, p. overleaf.	
48. Birch, Anthony, H., Nationalism and National Integration, p. 25.	
49. Carlton, C.J., Nationalism: A Religion, p. vi.	
50. Mazzini, Renan beside others are sceptic on this point. J.H. Rose views that only in a very crude form does nationality depend on race. (Q. Thengadi, D.B., 'Rashtra', p. 50).	
51. Baker, E., National Character and the Factors in Formation,	



- p. 51.
52. Hayes, C.J.H., *Nationalism: A Religion*, Preface, p. v. To him, originally it had tribal signification. Minogue opines that race is synonymous with class, people, community, tribe, state, clan, society. It has even been closely associated with nation. (Minogue, K.R., *Nationalism*, p. 8.) Ramsay Muir observes that a nation is not obviously the same thing as a race, and not the same as a body of people who feel themselves to be naturally linked together by certain affinities (Muir, Ramsay, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, p. 31.).
  53. Shafer, Byod C., *Nationalism: Myth and Reality*, p. 4.
  54. Gilchrist, R.N., *Indian Nationality*, p. 9.
  55. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
  56. Hayes believes that most modern nationalities flourish without insisting upon religion. (*Nationalism: A Religion*, p.1). Ramsay Muir feels that religion is not essential element for a nation (*Nationalism and Internationalism*, p. 45).
  57. Birch, Anthony H., *Nationalism and National Integration*, p. 26.
  58. Hayes, C.J.H., *Nationalism: A Religion*, p. 76.
  59. Muir, Ramsay, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, pp. 42-4.
  60. Q. Bandopadhyay, J., *Nationalism Unveiled*, p. 44.
  61. In the words of Synder, "Language reached stage of idolisation in modern nations. All nations tend to defend their language as the central symbol of their national life.... the people themselves, regard language as a major expression of their independence and prestige, their personality, their characteristics, their culture. Nationalists demand.... the purification of their language from foreign elements and the political incorporation of the nationals of other countries who speak the same language (*Global Mini Nationalism*, pp. 43-44).
  62. Q. Thengadi, D.B., '*Rashtra*', p. 48.
  63. Gilchrist, R.N., *Indian Nationality*, p. 10.
  64. Seton, Hugh, *Nations and States*, p. 1.
  65. Morgenthau, H.J., *Politics Among Nations*, p. 127.
  66. Kohn, Hans, *The Idea of Nationalism*, p. 14.
  67. Muir, Ramsay, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, p. 49.
  68. Norbu, Dawa, *Culture and Politics of Third World Nationalism*, p. 27.
  69. Q. Padhi, Baral, and Hazari, *Political Theory*, p. 491.
  70. *Britannica Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 12, p. 851.
  71. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol.1, p. 449.
  72. Gellner, Earnest, *Nations and Nationality*, p. 1.
  73. Hayes, C.J.H., *Nationalism: A Religion*, p. v.
  74. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
  75. Kohn, Hans, *The Idea of Nationalism*, p. 16.

76. Q. Appadorai, A., Documents on Political Thought in Modern India, Vol. IV, pp. 718-19.
77. Synder, Louis, Global Mini-Nationalism, pp. 2-3.
78. Bipin Chandra, Indian National Movement: The Long Term Dynamics, p. 70.
79. Ravinder Kumar, The Making of a Nation, p. 198.
80. Bandopadhyay, J., Nationalism Unveiled, pp. 46-47, 63.
81. Roy, M.N., Nationalism, Preface.
82. Q. Shafer, B.C., Fasces of Nationalism: New Realities and Old Myth, pp. 118-19.
83. *Ibid.* It is to be noted that Renan was a French Orientalist of nineteenth century.
84. Renan, E., Essay on Nationality, Q. Appadorai, A., Documents on Political Thought in Modern India, Vol. IV, pp. 492-93.
85. Ambedkar, B.R., Pakistan, or Partition of India, p. 21.
86. Awasthi, A.B.L., Indian Nationalism, Vol. I, p. 4.
87. Q. Ashirvatham, E., Political Theory, p. 576.
88. Pillsbury, W.B., The Psychology of Nationality and Internationalism, p. 267.
89. Sidgwick, Elements of Politics, p. 224.
90. Stalin, Joseph, Marxism and National Question, p. 4.
91. Heater, D.B., Political Ideas in the Modern World, p. 8.
92. Hayes, C.J.H., Nationalism : A Religion, p. 9.



## 2

# **CULTURAL NATIONALISM: INDIAN VARIANT**

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Whenever the context of Indian nationalism is put forward eyebrow is raised on its very existence since many feel that nationalism is a European innovation.<sup>1</sup> They believe that Indian unity began culminating under British rule.<sup>2</sup> To Jay Prakash Narain, nationalism is two hundred years old and India was never a nation, "nor is a nation today, nor can suddenly become tomorrow."<sup>3</sup> Sir John Stratchey remarked as early as 1888 that "there is not and never was an India or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas any sort of unity, physical, political, social or religious."<sup>4</sup> Sir John Seely further remarked, "The nation that India is a nationality rests upon that vulgar error which political science principally aims at eradicating. India is not a political name, but only a geographical expression like Europe or Africa. It does not mark the territory of a nation and a language, but the territory of many nations and many languages."<sup>5</sup>

This kind of logic further pushes Indian nationalism (if at all ! to them) to multi-national complexion. Rajani Palme Dutt represented this idea. In his words, "Can the diversified of races and religions, with the barriers and

divisions of caste, of language and other differences, and with the widely varying range of social and cultural levels, inhabiting the vast sub-continental expanse of India, be considered a nation or even become a nation? ....It is not the only unity, the unity imposed by British rule?"<sup>6</sup> He further maintains that modern Indian nationalism has come into being and grown up in struggle against imperialism;<sup>7</sup> imperialism can claim to be its precedent condition....just as Tsarism was the starting point of the victory of the working class in Russia, or Charles I of Cromwell....imposition of British legal and cultural institutions and the enforcement of an 'Anglicised' education.....inevitably laid the seeds of Indian nationalism."<sup>8</sup> And he considered the Congress as the foster-parent of Indian nationalism.<sup>9</sup> He considered India as a multi-national country and justified the cause of Pakistan.<sup>10</sup> As he writes, Muslim League's demand "reflected, although in a deserted form, genuine demands corresponding to the multi-national character of India; condemnation of any attempt to base nationality on religion as reactionary, divisive and loyalty to bring harmful and obstructive consequences."<sup>11</sup> He quotes Stalin stating in the year 1912 : "In case of India, too, it will probably be found that innumerable nationalities, till then living dormant, would come to the life with the further course of bourgeois development."<sup>12</sup> So Rajani Palme had considered opinion that the Communist Party rightly wanted "voluntary democratic Indian Union of sovereign units" on the basis of "self-determination."<sup>13</sup>

R.N. Gilchrist joined this school when he probed diversities in Indian nationality.<sup>14</sup> Some Europeans have further referred to India as a continental nation or a multi-national state.<sup>15</sup> Cambridge University greeted Dr. S.D. Sharma as the President of the country of a "hundred nations."<sup>16</sup> One communist poet pointed out that India was consisted of as many states as there were kings present in the bridal pageant of Draupadi.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, A.H. Siddiqui probes India's cultural diversity and calls it a multi-nation country, accommodating people of various

caste, and aptitude, faith and belief, language and culture.<sup>18</sup>

The counter-question is that if India was not a nation what it was since (at least) five to six thousand years? Law of gravitation was there prior to its discovery. Similarly, Indian nation did exist much prior to its analysis in academic spectrum of Europe. Even if hypothetically European model of nationalism is employed in Indian case a grand Indian nation is crystally visible since time immemorial.

Subhas Chandra Bose never accepted the theory of multi-nationality and basically disagreed with the view that Indian unity was a gift of British suzerainty over India. According to him, Indian nationalism is neither the product of geography nor of Britain's imperial politics like evolution of state nationalism of the West. "Her nationalism; basically cultural and spiritual in concept. It developed as emotional idea or a sacred feeling through various process of synthesis and harmony in the long history of her organic growth."<sup>19</sup>

Further, the kind of nationalism experienced in Europe cannot set the universal standard. The Royal Institute of International Affairs rightly viewed that Asiatic nationalism differs from European nationalism in that it is 'Indian', 'Japanese', 'Persian', 'Syrian', etc. The adjective involves entirely different geographical, historical, racial, economic, cultural and above all, religious backgrounds."<sup>20</sup> Synder finds the difference of application even in European states as evident from his work "Varieties of Nationalism". It depends on the historical growth of a given people. So, though it is commonly known as nationalism, there is qualitative change in it.<sup>21</sup> Tagore also conceded this fact.<sup>22</sup> Even the American nationalism, lacking deep roots in history and evolving under different material conditions, are not exactly synonymous with those of Europe and Asia.<sup>23</sup>



So Indian variant nationalism is cultural in its substance. Every nation has its own modality to express itself, and the very term 'nation' finds different connotations in different lands. Though a communist S.A. Dange was very emphatic on the western-Indian terminological dichotomy. To each term of the Hindus, he viewed, they used to have a distinct connotation and it cannot be understood exactly in traditional western sense.<sup>24</sup> In fact, it is the indigenous term 'Rashtra' which is used in Indian context.<sup>25</sup> The term 'nation' is used only as the nearest English approximation just as religion is erratically substituted for 'Dharma'.

Prof. M.M. Sankhdher makes here an appraisal in proper perspective. In his words, "Inspired by the liberal ideology of the West and re-inforced by the American love for freedom, we too, during our fight for independence, imitated the same pattern of thinking and action thereafter". According to him, nationalism precisely means freedom from colonialism, self-determination and a unity of some common self-governing community for agreed common goals". The author laments charge that there is no proper introspection on the matter. 'Rashtravad' carries a distinct meaning than the western nationalism. 'Rashtra' is not a mere geo-political concept, it is a category of thought which mystically keeps a patriot in a frame of mind to transcend all material and immediate interests and protect the motherland from all odds, calamities, aggressions and evils. "The pure love for the country, as a whole, is the feeling behind the word 'Rashtra'. The love for the country and its cultural unity is not the same thing as striving for nationhood, self-determination, sovereignty or structuring of a composite culture—Rashtrabhakti' (veneration for the nation) is erroneously meant loyalty to the nation rather than patriotism- 'Rashtrabhakti' implying patriotism, thus, is a cultural urge manifest in all beings in this country to treat everything the motherland has given to them as a blessing and a boon. It is an outer expression of 'sanskara'—a sub-conscious feeling in every heart of an

Indian (Hindu) whose heart bleeds when the country suffers—Patriotism in this context, is a civilisational concern for the Indian who is ever prepared to arm himself for fighting against all anti-patriotic forces. In this sense, the Indian model of patriotism involves a greater emotional attachment to the motherland than nationalism can ever do. 'Rashtra', unlike nation, involves a total dedication to the 'Desh' or the country. A patriot is inspired in love for everything that the 'Rashtra' bestows on him by its benign benevolence and grace. It makes all the differences when this attachment is accomplished by reverence to values of universalism, humanity and humanness. The 'Rashtra' acquires for him sublime height in terms of his willingness to accept loyalty, not governed by narrow economic benefits, political privileges, security, etc. His perfect atunement with the elevated consciousness where a sense of belongingness embraces the land, the geography, the mountains, the rivers, the art, the oceans, the flora and fauna, legends and scriptures and above all, the wonderful people.<sup>26</sup>

Cultural pluralism innovated in Europe hardly finds resemblance in Indian panorama. Jawaharlal Nehru finds existence of a deep underlying cultural unity in India<sup>27</sup>—so also C.R. Das<sup>28</sup> and B.R. Ambedkar<sup>29</sup> beside many other architects of modern India. This perception has been assiduously presented by Vincent Smith. In his language, "The political unity of all India, although never attained perfectly in fact, always was the idea of the people throughout the centuries....the conception of universal sovereign as the 'Chakravarti Raja' runs through Sanskrit literature and is emphasised in scores of inscriptions. The story of the gatherings of the nations to the battlefield of Kurukshetra, as told in the Mahabharata, implies the belief that all the Indian peoples including those of the extreme south, were united by real bonds and concerned in interests common to all. European writers, as a rule, have been more conscious of the diversity rather than unity of India. Joseph Cunningham, an author of unusually independent spirit, is an exception. When



describing the Sikh fears of British aggression in 1845, he recorded the acute and true observation that 'Hindusthan', moreover, from Caubut to the valley of Assam, and as one country, and domination in it is associated in the minds of the people with the dominance of one monarch or one race. India therefore possesses and always has possessed for considerably more than two thousand years of ideal political unity.....India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying fundamental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. The unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners and sect."<sup>30</sup> India offers unity in diversity. The underlying unity being less obvious than superficial diversity, its nature and limitations merit exposition (in spite of several kingdoms and so on).<sup>31</sup>

According to the territorial nationalists, whosoever lives in a country automatically becomes a national and shall have the right to conserve his distinct culture at his own notwithstanding the genesis of the nation.<sup>32</sup> They have nothing to bother for national substratum or mainstream or anything akin to it. They are more right conscious than duty to the nation. They mean that the Indian nation is formed of all those people who reside in this land. Nowhere in the world the concept of nation as coincident with a particular territory and all the people residing there accepted<sup>33</sup> mechanically.

Territorial nationalism is state-based nation (as Mussolini's Encyclopaedia which has been mentioned in the footnote). It means that all the people living within the boundaries of one particular state should be assimilated in a common nationhood characterised by common points of devotion, common ideals and common values of life. Such an effort is being made in certain states of Africa at the moment. Then there is the urge for nation-based state to bring all the people imbued with a community of convictions, ideals and values of life and a feeling of we-ness under the canopy of the state. Such



an attempt has borne fruit in Vietnam and Germany and going on in Korea. In Indian context, the nation was also divided into a number of states from time to time, but the stream of national life remained intact.<sup>34</sup>

The nation-based state is synonymous to cultural nationalism. It conceives of all-comprehensive monistic culture in India, whereas territorial nationalism formulates the doctrine of cultural pluralism. Because of the said monistic tendency India could withstand successive invasions and alien rules, whereas the European states have been disintegrating corresponding to vicissitude of political upheavals. So, when the contemporary Marxist intellectuals who do not look beyond the devastated Soviet Union cast aspersion on Indian nationalism find themselves in sordid isolation. Indian nation unlike Soviet Union and many others is centrifugal, not centripetal. Hence the question of its dissolution does not arise.<sup>35</sup> Indian federation is a matter of political and administrative convenience, which remains elusive on the face of culture-based nationalism.

Further state-based nations of Europe has been witnessing constraint political turmoil, and consequently has been the source of unhappiness to millions of people. So, it is generally believed that nationalism is an evil in itself regardless of whether it is in Europe, India or elsewhere under whatever circumstances. But such a belief is erroneous and is the result of a prejudiced evolution of nationalism.<sup>36</sup> Cultural nationalism is universalistic, not regimented; genuinely secular, not theocratic nor communal, humanistic, nor racist nor chauvinistic; rational, not fundamentalist.

Bipin Chandra Pal is the first great theoretician on traditional ethos of 'Rashtra' in the common place idiom of the Nation thereby enriching the prevalent western terminology. Prof. Sankhdher gives this credit to Gururji;<sup>37</sup> but the latter's task was to rationalise and harmonise the wholistic nationalist thought of Vivekananda-

Aurobindo tradition compounded with B.C. Pal's ideas. Hence he stands as the most consistent propagator of the concept of 'Rashtra' in recent period. Pal's definition on nation is nearest to Renan and other great European Idealists, according to whom race, land, language, religion and culture are the ingredients of a nation. Golwalkar's contention may be cited here, which is the most rationalised version on the subject. In his language, "The first requisite for a nation is a continuous piece of land delimited as far as possible by natural boundaries to serve as the substratum on which the nation has to live, grow and prosper. Then in the particular territory should have developed love and adoration for it as their motherland, as the place of their substance, security and prosperity....Then....., they should have evolved a definite way of life moulded by community of life-ideals, of culture, of feelings, sentiments, faiths and traditions. If people thus become united in a coherent and well-ordered society....then such people living...may be termed a nation."<sup>38</sup>

Golwalkar continues, "If the people become united...having common traditions and aspirations, a common memory of the happy and unhappy experiences of their past life, common feeling of friendship and hostility, and all their interests interweaved into one identical whole, then such people living as children of that particular territory may be termed a nation."<sup>39</sup> "The concept of a nation", he adds, "include.....the substratum on which the nation has to live and grow."<sup>40</sup> In another context he states, "It is universally accepted that if in a particular piece of land, there is a people who consider that land as their mother and have reverence for it and also have a common inheritance, common culture, common inheritance, common culture, common understanding of the other people of the world as to whether they are friendly or hostile, common impressions of the past happy or unhappy and a community of interests, such a people are called the nation in that particular land". He feels unity of culture as the essential



attribute of nationhood.<sup>41</sup>

The term culture is employed here in broader spectrum, and not in myopic view. Unfortunately, at common parlance, the term culture is being used in pejorative and narrow sense. It is limited only to imply theatrical affairs and entertainment. Culture is meant here to understand ethos and totality of life of a given society as well as the individual. It is expression of the soul of the society. It is mirror of the people.

Thus, to Golwalkar, firstly there is the physical and enduring basis of national life—a piece of land. "If this land has its geographical boundaries clearly delineated from other countries that is so much the better. Then, there are the people on this and who have over the centuries developed bonds of affection and reverence for this land and feel proud to regard themselves as sons of the country. These people, again, are not simply an assemblage of men but possess culture and tradition etc." "Scholars have referred", he adds, "also to the factor of common history to the common experiences of joy and sorrow shared over the course of this history, and to the common appreciation of friends and enemies resulting therefrom."<sup>42</sup>

To Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the bases of nationalism are both objective and subjective. Such objective factors as common language, territory and religion contribute to the psychological or subjective feeling of oneness among a people. These subjective, psychological feelings are indeed of fundamental importance for nationalism. He believes that nationalism can be promoted and strengthened if the people's psychological bonds are given symbolic expression of an objective, visible or concrete type, namely, flags, insignia and the celebration of social and religious festivals.<sup>43</sup>

B.C. Pal stretches the deliberation into a higher plane. In his words, "If we are asked to define what



nationality is, we should say that it is the individuality of a people. As there are little tricks of nature, certain inexplicable but undeniable peculiarities of tone or touch, or gain or step that mark out one individual from another, though both may be children of the same parents, and brought up, particularly, in the same surrounding peculiarities that are due, we assume it, to some unknown factors in their respective structures; so there are similar peculiarities while differentiating one race from another, and constitute their individuality—their distinctive national features.....There are really to be found in the thought-structure and the social structure of different peoples. It is really in their thought-structure that we discover the world idea of a people. And the thought-structure of a race can be studied only in its linguistic structures."<sup>44</sup>

"In the thought-structure we find the nature of a people's thought, in their social structure we find the character of their lives....We find among the Aryan race a type of social organisation which is essentially civic, while among the Semitic races we find what is practically militancy....The result is that the genius of Aryan religion is fellowship, communication with deity, while that of Semitic religion is legalism, obedience to the commands of God. The genius of Aryan governments is essentially constitutional, while that of the Semitic races is essentially despotic. It is this nationality which is the real Regulative Idea in their historical evolution. It is this which marks out the literature, the religion, the social institutions of a people from those of other peoples."<sup>45</sup>

Thus B.C. Pal observes that the elements of nationality are the thought-structure of a people and their social structure, and these factors determine the whole of community life in higher plane. It is this nationality which is the distinctive feature when compared with others. He further pin-points that nationality is loyalty to its own genius; its own nature, its own proper and true self.<sup>46</sup>

To Deendayal Upadhyay, another great authority on the subject, nature is a stable, permanent concept—a people who share a common character and in a particular territory attain nationhood through a long historical process.<sup>47</sup> He again analyses that when a group of persons live with a goal, an ideal, a mission, and look upon a particular piece of land as motherland, this group constitutes a nation.<sup>48</sup> He further writes, in the introduction to a biography of Adya Shankaracharya, that “the memory of the lives and deeds of our great men, the great reverence in which they are held by the masses and the national character inspired by them constitute the rich heritage and source of thought.”<sup>49</sup>

Thinking on cultural nationalism contains that a homogeneous set of people is shaped by a natural geographical boundary, common stock, common culture, common language, religion, customs and traditions, common history and common hopes and aspirations.<sup>50</sup>

Cultural nationalism pins faith on ‘Dharma’ which is erroneously translated as religion,<sup>51</sup> but used as a matter of convenience. However, the current perception holds religion as the centre of gravity of the nation. Vivekananda, beside others, rightly probed that the people of India can understand even politics in term of religion.<sup>52</sup> Tilak explained that religion not only provides a tie between man and God but also between man and man. Therefore, to him, religion is an element of nationality.<sup>53</sup>

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar explains the point of subjective psychological feeling in caste simplicity. That it is a corporate sentiment of oneness which makes those who are charged with it feel that they are kith and kin. “It is a feeling of consciousness of kind which on the one hand binds together those, who have it so strongly that it over-rides all differences arising out of economic conflicts or social gradations and on the other, serves them from those who are not of their kind.”<sup>54</sup> He reiterates that it is at once a feeling of fellowship for one’s own kith and kin



and an anti-fellowship feeling for those who are not one's kith and kin.... It is a longing not to belong to any other group. This is the essence of what is called a nationality and national feeling."<sup>55</sup>

Cultural nationalism subscribes to the doctrine of organic theory and philosophic idealism as distinguished from mechanical, material concept of territorial nationalism. It is the factor of cultural nationalism which tends India to emerge as a distinct representative in the community of nations. It contributes positive and constructive kind of nationalism comprising the entire gamut of human life—social, economic, political, cultural, spiritual and what not. It supplants the narrow creeds racialism, regionalism, localism and regimentation—its vision being universalistic. It subordinates politics and material urge, without marginalising their positive utility. In the long-run, it rolls the ball of human evolution in right perspective.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For instance, K.R. Minogue holds this view in his work "Nationalism", p. 33.
2. The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1939 submitted that Indian nationalism owes its origin to British India. Further, to Ramsay Muir, the idea of nationality dawned upon the people of India until they had submitted to the firm rule and the systematic administration of law which came with the British dominion. If it is to be hoped a genuine spirit of national unity arises in India, it will be mainly the product of the political unity which British rule first gave (Nationalism and Internationalism, pp. 46-7). R.S. Chavan similarly feels that Asian nationalism is the result of East-West contact and Imperialism in Asia (Nationalism in Asia, pp. 30-68).
3. Ed. Grover, Verinder, Political Thinkers of Modern India, Vol. Eighth.
4. Stratchey, Sir John, India : Its Administration and Progress, p. 5.
5. Seely, Sir John, The Expansion of England, pp. 254-7.
6. Dutt, Rajani Palme, *India Today*, pp. 283-4.
7. Resembling with Hans Kohn's assertion that nationalism is



- nothing but a collective grievance against foreigners (World Order, p. 98).
8. n. 6., 301.
  9. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
  10. *Ibid.*, p. 464.
  11. *Ibid.*, Intr., p. v.
  12. *Ibid.*, p. 473.
  13. *Ibid.*, p. 481. In this line another author substantiates that the conception of Indian Muslims as a nation may not ethnically be correct, but socially correct. (Lenka, Sudarshan, A Secular State for India, p. 53).
  14. Gilchrist, R.N., Indian Nationality, p. 17.
  15. Sikri, S.L., Indian Government and Politics, p. 256.
  16. *Indian Express*, 26 July, 1993, p. 3.
  17. Singh, Rabi, Address "Sahityotsav", Jharsuguda, 5 January 1993.
  18. Siddiqui, A.H., National Integration of India, Ch.III.
  19. Q. Guha, Samar, Netaji : The Revolutionary, pp. 557-8.
  20. "Nationalism", Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, London, 1939, p. 147.
  21. Thengadi, D.B., 'Sanket Rekha', p. 141.
  22. Tagore, R.N., Nationalism, p. 15.
  23. Shafer, Byod C., Nationalism : Myth and Reality, p. 4.
  24. n. 1, p. 227.
  25. Bipin Chandra Pal is the foremost exponent of the Indian concept of nationalism in term of 'Rashtra' (dealt in Volume II).
  26. Sankhdher, M.M., "Rashtra versus Nation", *Organiser*, 14 March 1993, p. 2.
  27. Nehru, Jawaharlal, Discovery of India, p. 74.
  28. C.R. Das adds, "We cannot forget that the different nationalities of India, although there are differences between them....Yet spiritually and historically they are bound up as so many links in the chain of one living national individuality" (Q. Tagore, R.N., Nationalism, p. 15).
  29. Moon, Vasant, Comp., "Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar : Writings and Speeches", Vol. 1, p. 22.
  30. Smith, Vincent A., Ancient and Hindu India, Intr., pp. ix-x.
  31. *Ibid.*, pp. viii-ix.
  32. Mussolini wrote in his Encyclopaedia: "It is not the nation which generates the state....Rather it is the state which creates the nation" (Q. Kapoor, A.C., Principles of Political Science, p. 675). Earnest Baker's contention is that personality of a nation is manifested so far as it is a state. "The nation does not exist to generate the state....the nation is created by the state" (Reflections on Government, p. 26).
  33. Upadhyay, Deendayal, quoted in Bhishikar, C.P., ed., "Deendayal.....The Concept of Rashtra", p. 19.

34. "Why Hindu Rashtra"? RSS Publication, p. 123.
35. When this cultural unity was made to be diluted two-nation theory cropped up in the form of Pakistan; to which the cultural nationalists take serious exception; and it also vindicates their stand.
36. Chavan, R.S., Nationalism in Asia, p. 29.
37. Sankhdher, M.M., Foreword, Kohli, R., Political Ideas of M.S. Golwalkar, p. ix.
38. Golwalkar, M.S., Bunch of Thoughts, p. 161.
39. Golwalkar, M.S., Hindu Rashtra and Minorities, p. 2.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
41. Golwalkar, M.S., Answer to All Questions, p. 5.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
43. Inamdar, N.R., "The Political Ideas of Lokmanya Tilak", in ed. Pantham and Deutch, Political Thought in Modern India, p. 112.
44. Bal, B.C., National Lines (1901), G. Appadorai, A., Documents on Political Thought in Modern India, Vol. I, p. 476 (contd., Max Muller is quoted here "We know certain forms of language which correspond to certain forms of thought").
45. Pal, B.C., The New Spirit, pp. 115-6.
46. ———, Writings and Speeches, p. 161.
47. Ed., Bhishikar, C.P., "Deendayal", The Concept of Rashtra", p. 66.
48. Upadhyay, Deendayal, Integral Humanism, p. 36.
49. Ed., Deodhar, V.N., "Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay", Part VII, p. 48.
50. Seshadri, H.V., The Way, p. 47. Vivekananda had opined, "Race, Religion, Language and Government—all those taken together make a nation" (The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol. 3, p. 286). One Hindu Mahasabha documents reads : "The ideal of nationalism is based upon homogeneity of race, language, religion, culture and history" (Indra Prakash, "Hindu Mahasabha", p. 4.).
51. Dealt in detailed in Vol. III of the present work.
52. Vivekananda, Speeches from Colombo to Almora, p. 76.
53. Ed. Srivastav, R.R., Speeches of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, p. 53.
54. Ambedkar, B.R., Thoughts on Pakistan, pp. 10-11. Also, Will to be a Nation, p. 2.
55. ———, Pakistan or Partitioning of India, p.13.

# 3

## **FACTOR OF 'HINDUTVA'**

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While cultural nationalism in Indian perspective is projected it obviously refers to Hindu nationalism in ultimate analysis. Hence it is imperative to delve upon Hindu and 'Hindutva' (Hinduness) in reference to Indian nationalism.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan presents a thought-provoking analysis on geo-cultural root of the nomenclature Hindu. At the outset, he remarks, one is confronted by the difficulty of defining what Hinduism is. However, he maintains that the Hindu civilisation is so called, since its original founders or earliest followers occupied the territory drained by the Sindhu (the Indus) river system corresponding to the North-West frontier province and the Punjab. This is recorded in Rig Veda, the earliest of the Vedas, the Hindu scripture which gives their name to the period of Indian history. The people on the Indian side of the Sindhu were called Hindu by the Persian and the latter western invaders. From the Punjab, the civilisation flowed, he maintains, over into the valley of the Ganges where it met with numerous cults of primitive tribes. As the civilisation extended over the whole of India, it suffered many changes, but it kept up its continuity with the old Vedic type developed in the banks



of the Sindhu. The term Hindu has only a territorial and not a credal significance. It implies residence in a well-defined geographical area. Aboriginal tribes, savages and half civilised people, the cultured Dravidians and the Vedic Aryans were all Hindus as they were the sons of the same mother.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan further elucidates: ".....Hinduism is not a definite sect, but a commonwealth of sects". He hastens to believe that Hinduism is more a life than a form thought. "The theists and atheists, the sceptics and agnostic may all be Hindus if they accept the Hindu system of culture and life. Hinduism insists not on religious conformity but on a spiritual and ethical outlook in life....Hinduism is not a sect but a fellowship of all who accept the law of right and earnestly seek for the truth."<sup>2</sup> Stretching the deliberation ahead he further claims that Hinduism is a movement, not a position, a process not a result; a growing tradition, not a fixed revelation.<sup>3</sup>

In *Shastring Dasji vs. Muldas* case Justice P.B. Gajendragadkar observed (quoting Dr. Radhakrishnan's "Hindu View of Life") that before the advent of Muslims in India, the term Hindu had no credal connotation. Then it had a territorial significance, probably it also denoted nationality. The word came into vogue with the advent of the Greeks who called the inhabitants of the Indus valley as INDOI and later on this designation was extended to include all persons who lived around or beyond the Indus Valley. Today the term Hindu has no territorial significance. So also it has lost much of its credal significance, he observed.<sup>4</sup>

Zenda Avesta, the holy book of Zoroastrian Iranians used the term Hindu in its 65th and 163rd 'Aoyat'. The term Hindu subsequently found place in Old Testament in the form of HANAD. It is believed that this was written in 5,000 B.C. Reference of these works prove that the term Hindu refers traditionally to a geographical entity.<sup>5</sup>

Govind Das's "Hinduism" published in 1924 also constitutes a hallmark in the direction. He writes that the term Hindu is to be traced in the sacred literature of the Parsees. Zenda Avesta mentions the term "Hapta Hindu" which is phonetically changed form of the "Sapta Sindhu"—comprising Sindhu, Bitasta (Jhelum), Chandrabhaga (Chenab), Irabati (Rabi), Bipasa (Bias) and Shatadru (Sutlej); mentioned in the Vedas. It always occurs in its plural form "Sapta-Sindhuvah" and "Seven Rivers" themselves, in one place in the Rig Veda (VII, 2, 4, 27) it is the designation of a definite country. Orientalists identify this country with the modern Punjab. But there are two inseparable difficulties in the way; one is that the identification of the seven rivers is still a controversial point, and the second is the transformation of the "Sapta, seven, into 'Pancha', five. No phonetic jugglery is possible here, and to dismiss the difficulty by recalling flexibly that no stress on identification need be laid because seven is a favourite or sacred number from the Vedas does not sound very wise. That means "Sapta Sindhu" does not connote only to Sindhu or Punjab, but to the whole of India.<sup>6</sup>

"The term is again found in use among the Greeks and was taken over by the Mogul conquerors of India, and made current. The term Hindavah, plural of Hindu is found in a copper plate inscription of the twelfth century."<sup>7</sup>

Dr. Karan Singh's contention follows that Hinduism itself is a geographical term based upon the Sanskrit name for the great river that runs across the northern boundaries of India, known as the Sindhu. "For those living on the other side of this river, the entire region to the south-east of the Sindhu, which the Greeks called the Indus, came to be known as the land of the Hindus, and the vast spectrum of faiths that flourished here acquired the generic name Hinduism. In fact, Hinduism calls itself the 'Sanatana Dharma', the eternal faith, because it is based not upon the teachings of a single



preceptor but on the collective wisdom and inspiration of great seers and sages from the very dawn of Indian civilisation."<sup>8</sup>

Charan Sharan's study is that the religion in India has been the legacy of the philosophers and intellectuals and it was never owned by any class or group collectively.<sup>9</sup> In the words of John Woodroffe, Hinduism is not a religion but a culture which has produced, among other things, a certain fundamental religious and philosophical beliefs on which have been super-imposed a number of varying forms of particular philosophies and religions.<sup>10</sup>

To Prof. Balraj Madhok origin of the term India is to be traced thus: the Greeks in fourth century B.C., reached the banks of the Sindhu under the leadership of Alexander and pronounced Sindhu as Indus. So they began to call India the land of the Sindhu or Indus as Indians<sup>11</sup> since the people were known after the name of the river-bank they resided.

"Hindutva" written by V.D. Savarkar in 1923 is supposed to be the first authoritative work for exposition of Hinduness from historical point of view. He probes that the use of the word Hindu is as old as the Rig Veda itself—the most ancient of the Vedas. Savarkar narrates that the alphabet 'S' is the Sanskritised equivalent of Persian 'H' since the pronunciation differs from people to people. The Persians used to pronounce 'S' as 'H', and thus called the river Sindhu as Hindu.<sup>12</sup> He takes privilege to define Hindu thus:

"Api Sindhu paryanto yasya Bharata bhumika,  
Pitrubhaputya bhuschai-va sa bai Hindu riti smriti".

It means, a Hindu is one who regards this land of 'Bharat-varsa', stretching from the Indus to the Seas, as his fatherland as well as his Holyland, that is the cradle land of his religion.



To Savarkar, there are three characteristics of a Hindu, viz., (i) A Hindu is one who feels attached to the geographical region extending from the Himalayas down to the Sea; (ii) a Hindu is one who inherits the blood of the race which is traced to the Himalayan altitudes of the 'Vedic Saptasindhus'. It distinguishes them from the Jews, Muslims, Chinese and all others; (iii) and lastly, a Hindu is one who inherits the culture rolling down in the stream of this country. So the Hindus are a nation, he asserts, united not only by the bonds of the love they bear to a common motherland but also by the bonds of common blood.<sup>13</sup> Thus land, race and culture are the determining factors of a Hindu and his nationhood.<sup>14</sup>

Savarkar further distinguishes Hindutva from Hinduism. To him, Hinduism is a fraction, a part of Hindutva.<sup>15</sup> He means Hindutva as only cultural, social and political concept; whereas he views Hinduism as only religious concept. However, to him, Hindutva embraces all the departments of thought and activity of the whole being of the Hindu race.<sup>16</sup> In his language, Hindutva refers to the notion of an organic socio-political body united together by the three bonds of territorial belongness, blood or birth and culture.

Prof. Madhok summarises the vexed problem thus—that Hindu is the name by which the people of Bharat, i.e., Hindusthan, i.e., India have been known and recognised by the world over the ages. It is derived from the Sindhu, the most notable geographical landmark that meets the eyes when one enters this land from the West. It was because of this river and its tribulations, on the banks of which the Vedic Aryans developed the culture and way of life which later got writ large over the whole country stretching from the Himalayas to the sea, that the Rig Veda, the oldest written record of the Aryans, called this original home of the Aryans as "Sapta Sindhwa"—the land of the seven rivers.<sup>17</sup>

This land is also known as "Aryavarta", the land of

the Aryans, which literally means the cultured and the virtuous people. The term is a linguistic one.<sup>18</sup> This land is also known as "Brahmavarta"—the land of the creator of the universe, since Brahma made the first revelation (which means Vedas) here.

With the spread of Aryan culture all over India including the Deccan, the terminology 'Aryavarta' became inadequate. A new nomenclature was needed which could comprehend the whole country from the Himalayas to the sea. By that time this vast stretch of land with well defined geographical boundaries and distinct Indo-Aryan identity had got divided into a number of political units. Political unity of this vast country under one spectre was Bharata. That became the basis for the name 'Bharat' or 'Bharatavarsha'—land of Bharata. When a woman has more than one child, we call her by the name of her eldest or the most well-known, and this land was called as his mother, Bharata, the mother of all Hindus.<sup>19</sup> No exact date for this development has yet been fixed. But it happened thousands years back, because 'Vishnu Purana' which was written over two thousand years back explicitly mentions:

"Uttarasya yat samudrasya, Himadreshchaiva  
dakshinam!

Varsham tad Bharatam nama Bharati yatra santati"!!

It means, Bharat is the name of the country situated to the north of the sea and south of the snowy Himalayas and its progeny is known as Bharati. It is so called because it is the abode of the descendants of Bharata.

Similarly, in the Middle Ages, the Barahaspatya Shastra mentioned:

"Himalayasu samarakhya yayadindu sarovaram!  
Tad devanirmitam deshah prachakshata"!!



It means, this land created by the gods and extending from the Himalayas to Indu Sarovar, i.e., the Indian Ocean, is known as Hindusthan.<sup>20</sup>

The term Hindusthan and Hindu, had become popular much before the advent of the Muslims. This is obvious from the reference in ancient Jain literature. A Jain preacher is asking his disciple to go to 'Hindu Desh', the land of the Hindus. "Kularnava Tantra" also refers a verse which specifically calls the land stretching from the Himalayas to "Indu Sarovar—Kanya Kumari" as Hindusthan. Probably Jawaharlal Nehru refers to this 'Tantrik' work of the eighth century A.D., where Hindu means a people and not the followers of a particular religion.<sup>21</sup> Yet, he feels that it is hardly possible to define Hinduism, or "indeed to say definitely whether it is a religion or not, in the usual sense of the word."<sup>22</sup>

Rabindranath Tagore's understanding is that the Hindus are a nation, and such a vast nation that their nationality cannot be limited within the scope of any single definition. Just as the ocean is not the same as its waves, he feels, so Hindus are not the same as sects.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, he calls Hinduism a United States of a social federation.<sup>24</sup>

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee once replied: "A Hindu is a native of Hindusthan."<sup>25</sup> "The pre-Mahammedan Hindu called himself Arya....For religion he had no name because he never entertained any conception to which such a name would have been applicable."<sup>26</sup> "With other peoples, a religion is only a part of life, to the Hindu, his whole life was religion"....."All life to him religion and religion never received a name from him, because it never had any existence apart from all that had received a name. There is no Hindu conception answering to the term "Hinduism."<sup>27</sup> When talking of Hinduism, he (Hindu) entirely forgets that there is such a thing as secular Hinduism.<sup>28</sup> Hinduism consists of certain fundamental principles which constitute a religion.<sup>29</sup>



Khuswant Singh ventures to comment that the word Indian is a misnomer; it should be Hindu, meaning the people who live beyond the river Indus or Sindhu. To him, Hinduism is not a religion : the concept of religion is alien to the people who subscribe to 'Sanatana Dharma', the eternal way.<sup>30</sup> He also refers Macnicol, an eminent Indologist, who described Hinduism as an "encyclopaedia of religions....an amalgam of often contradictory beliefs and practices held together in one by certain powerful ideas and a system of social regularities". He also emulates Sen, a Hindu scholar, to whom Hinduism is more like a tree than a building designed by one architect.<sup>31</sup> So, Oliver Bainbridge is convinced that the term Hindu cannot be defined.<sup>32</sup>

As per Pocket Oxford Dictionary Hindu means Indian. In unabridged edition of Webster's "Third New International Dictionary of the English language", the term Hinduism has been defined as meaning a complex body of social, cultural and religious beliefs and practices evolved in and largely confined to the Indian sub-continent and marked by a caste system and outlook tending to view all forms and theories as varied aspects of one eternal being and truth, a belief in 'ahimsa, karma, dharma, sanskara and moksha', and the practice of the way of works, the way of knowledge, or the way of devotion as the means of realisation from the round of rebirths, the way of life and form of thought of a Hindu.<sup>33</sup>

Thus Hinduism has been interpreted by different thinkers in different forms. But the substance remains invariable—that the value system, way of life and culture sprouted in the land of India constitutes, above all, Hinduism, the people the Hindu, and the nationality the Hindutva. In short, Hindutva reflects the totality of Indian nationality. It constitutes the life-breath of Indian nation. In fact, it is a means of understanding Indian mind.<sup>34</sup>

The very idea of nationalism in India dates back to the ancient period if its characteristics are minutely looked

into. It is admitted that there is no recorded chronological history of India prior to Alexander's invasion in 4th century B.C.—but even at this stage India had flourished with all kinds of richness which could not have been nurtured in a single generation, rather viewed from its intensity it must have been the cumulative outcome of tens of centuries. It amply vindicates the existence of a well organised society inclined to religion, culture, literature, art, philosophy, material prosperity and politics. It is not clubbed at par with modern western standard as a nation probably because of lack of a centralised political sovereign. But true to its conformity to cultural nationalism this political deficiency stands at vanishing point.

Those who trace Indian nationalism to, say, British days or so commit fallacy of dehistoricity. History reveals itself in its entirety. So a nation is to be traced back from its origin and not from the midway. Indian nationalism was potent from the days of antiquity of history, and thus it synchronises with sublime Vedic culture—if not more back. This probability does not affect the dynamism of Indian nationalism so much so that lack of evidence of one's date of birth does not compromise his genius. The fact is that whenever history opens its eyes it found India in the form of a nation.<sup>35</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru presents a simplistic statement that India is an old nation, the oldest among the nations.<sup>36</sup> In the words of Ronald Segal, "All countries are unique, but some are more unique, India must certainly be numbered."<sup>37</sup>

Let some ancient verses (which are, in fact, the vital representatives of Indian nationalism) be cited to substantiate the said view. The hymns of Rig Veda echo the basis of Indian nationalism.<sup>38</sup> In "Prithvi Sukta" of "Atharva Veda", there is veneration to the land of Aryans.<sup>39</sup> Another verse of the same Veda proclaims : "Desirous of achieving good of the whole people, the seer-sages did penance; and out of this penance emerged the nation's might and vitality. Therefore, let the understanding of



men be devoted to the nations."<sup>40</sup> In "Vishnu Purana" also we find the same concept. It has earlier been mentioned how this Purana depicts Indian geography and its inhabitants. It reads the length of Bharat from Ganga to Kanya Kumari is one thousand 'Yojanas', where its inhabitants live. It again asserts India as the right land for securing virtues.<sup>41</sup> Again, "Kurma Purana" narrates India as the sacred land of activism.<sup>42</sup> "Vayu Purana" again mentions: "The land stretching in south of Himalayas and the north of the sea is the unique land of activism, where one can achieve salvation."<sup>43</sup>

Ramayana and Mahabharata are high testimonials of Indian nationalism. The scriptures pronounce patriotism, veneration to this land, and adoration to an excellent way of life on the land. Nationalism was expressed in the form of common way of life and belief and love for the motherland. One instance of exaltation to the motherland may be cited here. Following victory over Ravana, the King of Lanka, Rama hesitated to remain and rule over it. He addressed his younger brother Laxmana:

"A pi swarnamayee Lanka na me Laxmana rochate,  
Jananee janmabhoomischa swargadapi gariyasee".

It means, the mother and motherland are superior to heaven. This expression of patriotism and mother—concept of the land signifies the existence of conceptual plinth of a nation.

Now, the concept of Indian nationalism is to be chained up with 'Hindu' phenomenon—in fact, which are so inextricably interweaved that it is quixotic to insulate.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak makes Indian nationalism identifiable with 'Sanatana Dharma'—the Eternal Religion symbolised in the form of Hinduism. In his words, "Vedic religion, which is very old as the history of the human race itself, as a whole is made up of different parts co-



related to each other as so many sons and daughters of our great religion."<sup>44</sup>

Ronald Segal feels that India "has to begin with, the Hinduism a religion of indeterminable and vast contemporary devotion, which has never left India at all except in the blood of emigrant communities. France is not Catholicism, there are Catholic countries, Pakistan is not Islam, there are many other Muslim states—India is Hindusthan."<sup>45</sup>

Hegel maintains, "Asia separates itself into two parts....while the Chinese and Hindoos—the two great nations of farther Asia. Already considered—belonging to the strictly Asiatic, namely the Mongolian Race and consequently possesses a quite peculiar character discrepant from ours, the nations of Higher Asia belonging to the Caucasian, i.e., the European stock."<sup>46</sup> A perusal study of this para goes to show that the term 'Hindoos' has been used by the writer for the nation and not for the religion.<sup>47</sup>

V.D. Savarkar, in his classic work 'Hindutva', contributes a good deal under the title "Hindus, a Nation."<sup>48</sup> He writes that 'Sindhusthan' was not merely a piece of land but it was a nation (rashtra) which ideally if not always actually a state.<sup>49</sup> He points out that the definition of nation is not based on any theological hair-splitting or religious fanaticism. The word Arya is expressly stated in the very verses to mean all those who had been incorporated as parts in this land of our side of the Indus whether 'Vaidic or Avidic', 'Brahmana or Chandala', and owing and claiming to have inherited a common country, and common polity; while 'Mlecchha' (alien) also by the very fact of its being put in opposition to 'Sindhusthan' meant foreigners nationality and racially not necessarily religiously.<sup>50</sup>

In Khuswant Singh's perception, India could be described as a Hindu country except that Hinduism

evades definition and its varieties are many.<sup>51</sup> He adds that the word Hindu does not appear in any of the sacred texts of Hindus. "Hinduism has no prophet or messiah in the same sense Jews, Christian and Muslims have prophets, or messiahs. It has no sacred book like Torah, the Bible or the Koran. It has no specific creeds."<sup>52</sup>

"We (Hindus) existed when there was no necessity for any name", justifies Golwalkar,<sup>53</sup> and that too in the form of a nation. Nationhood, to Hindus, is not a matter of letter but of spirit. They realise their fulfilment of life in personal as well as corporate capacity in this sprawling country facing all sorts of odd waves. Hindu is, on the contrary, not a political concept but a cultural and emotional one.<sup>54</sup> M.A. Venkata Rao argues that the word Hindu has obviously nationalist reference. It "connotes the entire civilisation of the Indian people from pre-historic development on Indian soil through millenia."<sup>55</sup> Bhayyaji Dani substantiates that the Hindus inherit everything in this land in term of language, history and religion inseparably bound of with the soil which are ingredients of nationality.<sup>56</sup> Dr. Karan Singh adds, "It is true that throughout her long history it is Hinduism that set the tone of national culture in India, that acted as the great creative force behind most of her varied achievements, that provided the ethos, the cultural milieu, the great backdrop, as it were, against which the drama of her history was played out."<sup>57</sup> Another critic observes that since the Hindus are the creators, historical carriers and guardians of Indian civilisation and enjoy an overwhelming numerical predominance, they are to constitute the cultural basis of the Indian nation. "India can only be and ought to aspire to become a nation-state in the sense of resting the Indian state on the Hindu nation."<sup>58</sup> We must acknowledge the fact that when talk of great culture of this country it is in fact to the Hindu history, Hindu culture and Hindu civilisation that we refer.<sup>59</sup>

Shyama Prasad Mukherjee claims that history,



literature, lives of great men and social and religious festivals play a great part in the process of influencing the race conduct. "In India all these are essentially Hindus". Therefore, he considers Indian culture to be in essence Hindu culture which has rolled down from the Vedic times, absorbing and assimilating the contributions of a number of new elements which, in the course of history, got absorbed into the Hindu or Bharatiya society.<sup>60</sup>

Balasaheb Deoras evades to define 'Hindu' lest it may lead to needless complication. But he makes it clear that those who heed credence to themselves as the offspring of Indian soil constitute the veritable Hindu society.<sup>61</sup> This repeated assertion tries to deduce conclusion of Hindu identity of India, and hence of Hindutva and Hindu nationalism. Logic is not divorced from the trend of other classical nations of the world. But a simple etymological deduction was diluted by wrong study of Indian history and culture for which the nation has had been to pay heavy price. It is unfortunate that a nation of this height is veering for identity crisis of unseeing kind.

Cultural dimension of nationalism discussed earlier has been embedded in the form of Hindu India if a detailed anatomy is resorted. Vincent Smith talks of this phenomenon only in reference to ancient epoch; but actually it finds uninterrupted continuity in the annals of history in entirety. Like the holy waters of the Ganga assuming different names, viz., Bhagirathi, Janhavi, Hoogly, etc. at different points and flows on with innumerable streams joining it and enriching it, so also the course of Hindu nation symbolises one and the same life-stream even while assuming different norms and assimilating and getting enriched by various currents and influences during its evolutionary process. "As such calling it Bharatiya instead of Hindu does not change its content or purport in the least."<sup>62</sup> The origin and signification of the nomenclatures Bharat, Hindusthan, India, Aryavarta stand invariable.



"It may be said that in the modern Mahammedianised Persia some contemptuous meaning has come to be associated with the term "Hindu", interrogates Savarkar, "but how does that show the original signification of Hindu was contemptuous and meant bleak?" He also answers it in the form soliloquy: "The fact is that the word Hindu dates back its origin not from the Mahammedianised Persia but from the ancient language of Iran, the Zenda Avesta. The epithets Hindu and Hindusthan had been the proud and patriotic designations signifying our land and our nation long before the Mahammedans or Mahammedianised Persians were head of it becomes almost immaterial so far as the greatness of epithet Hindu and its claim to our love are concerned."<sup>63</sup>

Further, Hindutva is a derivative word from Hindu."<sup>64</sup> And Hindusthan implies the land of Hindus". "The first essential of Hindutva must be this geographical one. A Hindu is primarily a citizen either in himself or through his forefathers of Hindusthan and claims the land as his motherland". "The Hindus are not merely citizens of the Indian state but because they are united not only by the bonds of the love, they bear to a common land, but also the bonds of a common blood. They are not only a Nation but also a race (jati). The word 'jati' derived from the root 'Jan'—to produce, means a brotherhood, a race determined by a common origin—possessing a common blood."<sup>65</sup> "We Hindus", Savarkar insists, "are all one and a nation, because chiefly of our common blood."<sup>66</sup> "We feel that the same ancient blood that coursed through the veins of Ram and Krishna, Buddha and Mahavir, Nanak and Chaitanya, Basava and Madhav, of Rohidas and Tiruvelluvar coursed throughout Hindudom from vein to vein, pulsats from heart to heart."<sup>67</sup>

Savarkar further understands that all those who love the land stretched from "Sindhu to Sindhu" (which means sea to sea implying from Bay of Bengal to Arabian sea) as their 'Pitribhoo' (fatherland), consequently claim

to inherit the blood of the race that has echoed by incorporation and adoption, from the ancient Saptasindhu can be said to possess two of the most essential requisites of Hindutva.<sup>68</sup>

"The real grandeur of our faith", observed the sage of Kanchi, on Hindu Dharma, "consists in its being nameless. Yet there is a common basis of the Hindus, i.e., the faith in the final authorities of Vedas, i.e., Veda Purana Gyanam."<sup>69</sup> Savarkar's version may be added here, that the Vedas do not constitute an authority for all Jains and such other sects. "But the Vedas as the most ancient work and the history of their race belong to Jains as much as to any of us."<sup>70</sup>

Savarkar elucidates, "We Hindus, in spite of thousand and one differences within our fold are bound by such religious, cultural, historical, racial, linguistic and other affinities in common as to stand out as a definitely homogeneous people as soon as we are placed in contrast with any other non-Hindu people—say the English or Japanese."<sup>71</sup> Regarding different sects such as Sikhs, he affirms, that let the Sikhs be classed as Sikhs religiously, but as Hindus socially and culturally.<sup>72</sup> This contention may well be employed for other denominations as well. He further explains, "A Hindu is he who feels attached to the land that extends from Sindhu to Sindhu as the land of his forefathers—as his Fatherland; who inherits the blood of the great race whose first and discernible source could be traced from the Himalayan altitudes of the Vedic Saptasindhus and which enabling all that was assimilated has grown into and come to be known as the Hindu people; and who, as a consequence of the foregoing attributes, inherits and claims as his own the Hindu 'Samkriti' (Culture), the Hindu civilisation, as represented in common jurisprudence, common fairs and festivals, rites and rituals, ceremonies and sacraments."<sup>73</sup>

Savarkar bids attempt to distinguish the term



Hinduism, which means, to him, the system of religious beliefs found common amongst the Hindu people. "Hinduism means the 'ism' of the Hindu....Hinduism must necessarily mean the religion or the religions that are peculiar and native to this land and these people."<sup>74</sup> "This Bharatbhoomi (Indian land)", he exhorts, "this Sindhusthan (land of Sindhu), this land of ours....is our Punyabhoomi (sacred land), for it was in this land that the founders of our faith and the seers to whom 'Veda', the knowledge revealed.....were born..... This is the sacred land of our sacrifice."<sup>75</sup> His conclusion is that 'Hindutva' is the common feature of the Indian nation—so also a common race and a common civilisation.<sup>76</sup>

Balraj Madhok's substance is that the word Hindu had a natural connotation all through the long long centuries of foreign Turkish and Mogal rule. "It comprehended all the people of Hindusthan irrespective of their caste, 'panth' (sect) or region who looked upon Hindusthan as their motherland and holy land and identified themselves with its culture and heritage. Hindutva or Hinduness of the people was the most effective factor which kept the consciousness of India being one country alive through the ups and downs of history."<sup>77</sup>

In early eighties Dr. Subramaniam Swami had been to China where an elderly Muslim devotee enquired about his religion. Dr. Swami replied that he was a Hindu. But the answer did not satisfy the Muslim devotee, who therefore repeated the query. Dr. Swami realised that to the old gentleman the word 'Hindu' meant the nationality and not the religion of India.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, when the Shahi Imam of Jama Masjid of Delhi had been to Mecca, a local resident asked him, "Are you a Hindu?" The Imam was startled by the question, and promptly replied, "No, I am a Muslim". When the Imam asked him the reason for calling him a Hindu, he replied that all 'Hindusthanis' were called Hindu there.<sup>79</sup> These two empirical studies reveal that the nationals of India have been universally



known as Hindus. As Justice Mohammad Karim Chagla has forcefully put it: "The French, with their sense of logic and precision, call Indians irrespective of their caste or communities 'L' 'Hindus'. I think that is a correct description....I trace my ancestry to my Aryan forefathers which they handed down to successive generation."<sup>80</sup> Under this backdrop the concept of Hindu does not possess a religious connotation and cannot be equated with Islam or Christianity.<sup>81</sup>

If different elements of nationhood are laid down the problem in the context of Hindu nationalism would appear more crystal. First of all, a common home is the foremost essential ingredient of nationhood. "We Hindus", Savarkar narrates, "whose very article of faith is the love we bear to the common Fatherland, have in that love the strongest talismanic tie that can bind close and keep a nation firm and enthuse and enable it to accomplish things greather than ever". "No country in the world with the exception of China, is peopled by a race so homogeneous, yet so ancient and yet so strong both numerically and vitally."<sup>82</sup> Again he observes that a Hindu by the very fact of professing allegiance or faith to religion, necessarily possesses, in regarding India as his "holy land, the cradle and the temple of his faith."<sup>83</sup>

Culture is the centre of gravity of a nation, and more relevant particularly in Indian perspective which is wedded to uphold culture-based corporate life in long span of history. A heterogeneous set of people with varied value systems of life and outlook cannot bring about a consolidated nation. The slogan of composite culture in India was raised by M.A. Jinnah to assert his claim for two-nation theory.<sup>84</sup> He claimed that Muslims of India had a different culture from the rest of the Indian people. But Prof. Madhok's reply is like this—"To talk of Muslims in India having a separate culture, and separate way of life is wrong.....Muslim Indians have the same culture and way of life as the Hindus as such. The whole of Europe is Christian. But German, French and Italian

Christians have their distinct cultures. The same is true of Iran, Indonesia, Turkey and Afganistan as Muslim countries with distinct national culture.<sup>85</sup>

However, the cult of composite culture is an imposed one. The fact is that there has been distinct civilisational structures in different phases of Indian history—every successive element adding to the vastness of the cultural heritage. It does not mean they were contradictory tending to cancel one another. The essence and vitality of Hinduness was never vitiated by any development. But composite culture doctrine aims at creating something fastidious. Casting glance at this idea Golwalkar sarcastically cites an example : "It is like attempting to create a novel animal by joining the head of a monkey and the legs of a bullock to the main body of an elephant!....It cannot be living body. If at all some activity is seen in that body it is only of the germs and bacteria breeding in that decomposing corpse. And so it is that we see today the germs of ....disintegrating....eating into the vitals of the nation for having given up the natural living nationalism in the pursuit of an unnatural, unscientific and life-less hybrid concept of territorial nationalism."<sup>86</sup> Huns and Shaks were assimilated in Indian society and that is hardly possible to distinguish them.<sup>87</sup> It is what the natural process of nationalism. To Golwalkar, the compositeness of India's culture is not really natural but the result of the unscrupulous inroads made into the eminent domain of the Hindus by the foreign races, such as the Muslims and Christians.<sup>88</sup> Mohiuddin Khan deduces fallaciously that India has been a meeting place of all civilisations<sup>89</sup> and hence it is a pluralist society.<sup>90</sup> Narain Menon defines composite culture, but in no way it justifies it—rather vindicates the other side. He observes, "By composite culture I mean a culture which, from the earliest recorded history that we have, has shown an extraordinary resilience to absorb fertilising force both from within the country and abroad."<sup>91</sup> But Krishna Kant, Governor of Andhra Pradesh, blasts the theory of composite culture and warns against the



western design of unity in diversity.<sup>92</sup>

Often it is argued that all the Indians are basically migrants in different epochs of history. This hypothesis received official sanction following incorporation of Risley-Gait decennial census report (1901-11). The Commission burnt mid-night oil in carving out the whole of Indian people ascribing their origin to some other land or other with imaginary anthropological construction. It rested the whole population under seven races, viz., (i) Turko-Iranian, (ii) Indo-Aryan, (iii) Scytho-Dravidian, (iv) Arya-Dravidian, (v) Mongolo-Dravidian, (vi) Mongoloid, and (vii) Dravidian.<sup>93</sup> This analysis endorsed in *Britannica Encyclopaedia* is greatly responsible in weighing the myth of composite culture posing challenge to the very root of Hindu nationalism.

This composite culture theory is preceded by the hypothesis of Aryan migration and invasion dictum. While there is parity of Aryan culture and that of Central Asia in earliest time it can be rather inferred that the Aryans, "the original inhabitants of India might have migrated to that region."<sup>94</sup> K.K. Dutta holds that the Indian Aryans left their home-land and then fanned out to the West Asia and European countries including the remotest regions (for Max Muller found even in Lithuanian *Perkna* a akin of Sanskrit *Paranjanya*). They were powerful enough to impose words (and perhaps even the name of their gods and goddesses) on the people of all those regions, and hence of all the similarity among all these languages.<sup>95</sup>

The Aryan theory was consistently questioned by Tilak, but was more eloquently put forth by Ambedkar. The latter unfailingly justified that the term Arya was not signifying any caste but to one's quality.<sup>96</sup> He asserts that the people in the South (of India) were always called Arya. It is a measure of culture, and not the name of any race. In ancient India when the wife used to address her husband "Oh Arya!" it did not mean that she herself was "Anarya" (non-Arya).



Dr. Ambedkar strongly denounced the theory of Aryan invasion in his monumental work "Who were the Shudras? (How they came to the Fourth Varna)". He makes a searching scrutiny of Indo-Aryan society,<sup>97</sup> and asserts that so far as the testimony of the Vedic literature is concerned it is against the theory that the original home of the Aryans was outside India.<sup>98</sup> The language in which reference to the seven rivers is made in the Rig Veda is very significant. As Prof. D.S. Trivedi says, the rivers are addressed as "my Ganges, my Yamuna, my Saraswati" and so on.<sup>99</sup> No foreigner would ever address a river in such familiar and endearing terms unless by long association he had developed an emotion about it. "Purusha Sukta" speaks of the Indo-Aryan nation, which was made up of the five tribes, which had become assimilated into one common Indo-Aryan people. These tribes denotes Gandharvas, Pitris, Devas, Asuras and Rakshasas.<sup>100</sup>

The theory of the Aryan invasion is just an assumption and no more, remarks Ambedkar. "This invasion is necessary because of gratuitous assumption which underlies the western theory. The assumption is that the Indo-Germanic people are the purest of the modern representatives of the original Aryan race. Its first home is assumed to have been some-where in Europe."<sup>101</sup> "Again this theory has its origin in the belief that the Aryans are a European race and as a European race it is presumed to be superior to the Asiatic race....Knowing that nothing can prove the superiority of the Aryan race better than invasion and conquest of native races, the western writers have proceeded to invent the story of the invasion of India by the Aryans and the conquest by them of the 'Dasa' and 'Dasyus'."<sup>102</sup>

Ambedkar, after having careful examination, concludes thus:

- (1) The Vedas do not know any such race as the Aryan race.

- (2) There is no evidence by the Aryan race and it having conquered the 'Dasas' and 'Dasyus' supposed to be natives of India.
- (3) There is no evidence to show that the distinction between Aryans, Dasas and Dasyus was a racial distinction.
- (4) The Vedas do not support the contention that the Aryans were different in colour from the Dasa and Dasyus.<sup>103</sup>

"The western theory, it is clear, is only a hurried conclusion drawn from insufficient examination of facts and believed to be correct, it tallied with certain preconceived notions about the mentality of the ancient Aryans to have possessed of no other grounds except that their alleged modern descendants, namely, the Indo-Germanic races are known to possess. It is built on certain selected facts which are assumed to be the only facts."<sup>104</sup>

Peculiar arguments are put forth—that the invading Aryans were descendants of the cold region for which they worshipped fire. Then why the present people of the cold regions are not having the same practice? Again, while the Aryans worshipped cow how that the people of cold regions are beef-eaters? Protagonists of this theory uphold the Indus Valley Civilisation as the first representative stock. But it was certainly not the case. Rather river Saraswati is believed to be the first base of the Aryan or Vedic civilisation.<sup>105</sup> According to scientific studies the river Saraswati dried up around 1900 B.C. This was principal river of the Vedic period and it was the cradle of Vedas itself.<sup>106</sup>

Golwalkar holds that the present argument of Aryans *versus* Darvidians is very recent and artificial. People in the south were never referred to as 'Mlecchhas' (aliens), he holds, and adds that there are no pure races. "What diversity of race we had in this country to begin with, was obliterated by time and circumstances."<sup>107</sup>



Many recent scholars have joined the issue and unequivocally spurned the Aryan-Dravidian dichotomy. Scientist and historian S. Rajaram, advisor to NASA, presented a paper at the Chidbhavananda Memorial Lecture organised by Vigil in opposition to myth of Aryan invasion. He expressed that the theory of Aryan Dravidian conflict is a figment of colonial fantasy used by the British to divide and rule India. "It has its genesis not in any European records, but in European politics and German nationalism". He presented strong argument in his contention and feels that Max Muller had only to play the game plan of British imperialism as he was too small man in the affair.<sup>108</sup> Retired Canadian civil servant Bhagwan Gidwani in his novel "The Return of the Aryans" has massively dealt with the problem. P.N. Oak is regarded as the foremost to highlight the question since three decades.

This theory rests completely on guess work. It says Aryans might have come from this region or that region—Central Asia or East Europe, and so on. There is no accuracy. While people have always moved to and fro, there was no such thing as an Aryan invasion of India. That story was manufactured by the British to legitimatise their rule with argument that Aryans, Mogals and themselves all were like invaders—somebody came earlier and somebody came later. To quote a critic, if Muslims are rejected as real inhabitants of this country the same question may also arise with Hindus....The Muslims are late comers. The first are the Aryans."<sup>109</sup> It is with this kind of logic that Hindu nationalism is dubbed, and hence this needs a long explanation. In fact, entire panorama of Indian nationalism moves round this single but effective question.

One seminar was conducted at Bangalore to have an in-depth study over the matter. T.R. Jayaraman felt that Max Muller and Vincent Smith had their own imperial axe to grind when they put forth the case of Aryan invasion.<sup>110</sup> Dr. S.P. Annamalai stated that the ancient



Tamil people, out of their respect to the Vedas called the Vedic language as 'Arya' and that no reference in the literature indicated that the Aryan was a race.<sup>111</sup> K.V. Ramakrishna Rao felt that the term Dravida has no racial connotation; that it represents a family of languages like Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu and is a modern concept.<sup>112</sup> In another context one Orissan author shares the view and expresses apprehension on Max Muller's confusion, and feels that Aryans originated and lived in Saptasindhu, i.e. India.<sup>113</sup>

In an article Dr. S.R. Rao, Marine Archaeologist, National Institute of Oceanography, Goa, observes, "We should not hesitate to do away with the imaginary Aryan invasion theory meant to keep India divided. British imagination was supplemented by their vindication of Whiteman's burden and Marxist vision was coloured by the hypothesis of class-struggle in Indian social fabric."<sup>114</sup> Gustav Opert rejects the immigration case, and establishes that with exception of a small minority of foreign immigrants, all Indians belong to one race, who may be called 'Bharatan'.<sup>115</sup>

To conclude deliberation it is worthwhile to state Prof. Debendra Swaroop's perception. He questions whether history should be a projection of the present into the past or mirror of the past to the present. According to him, "Indian society was given a framework which evoked sharp reactions from alert representatives of the Hindu society.... The recent research into the Harappa civilisation is sufficient to explore the Aryan migration myth. Historians in the West have rejected the Aryan theory. Even Romila Thapar in her writings has strongly refuted this hypothesis.... Western conflict like those between the church and the state, religion and science have been projected in Indian history. The Christian missionary and imperialist bias also crept into history-writing". He adds that Indian history was written by western historians in mid-nineteenth century who could not grasp the spiritual dimensions of Indian

thought.<sup>116</sup> The so-called progressive intellectuals who support the Aryan invasion case are afraid of accepting the ground reality lest they would have to revise their entire understanding of Indian nationalism.

Prof. Madhok presents a powerful argument in the present context—that even if for the sake of argument it is granted for a moment that Vedic Aryans too came from outside, that does not in any way militate against the fact that the substratum of Indian culture and civilisation has been provided by them just as the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain have provided the substratum of the present day English nation.<sup>117</sup> Lord Meston observes, "As the Aryan waves gradually penetrated and that marvellous system of social life and religion, of intertwining the seen and unseen, time with eternity, which we know as Hindusthan."<sup>118</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, too, writes in a different context of course, that "....It was a continuous long drawn out conflict and while the Indianisation was also at work ending in the invaders becoming as much Indians as any one else. Akbar became the greatest representative of the old Indian ideal of a synthesis of differing elements and their fusion into a common nationality. Because he identified himself with India, India took him although he was a new-comer. So long as his successors kept in line with this policy and with the genius of the nation, their empire endured. When they broke away and opposed the whole drift of national development, they weakened, and their empire went to pieces."<sup>119</sup> Even if the composite culture ethos is to be accepted in its wider ramification, "the vehicle of its expression is the Aryan language."<sup>120</sup>

In the foregoing stream there is no dispute that the Aryans laid the plinth of Indian culture and civilisation. It is they who considered the Indian land as their holy land—the land of self-realisation. Lord Meston devotes Chapter II of his work "Nationhood for India" under the title "Hindu as a National Force". He observes, "At the moment, the argument does not do beyond this, that in



Hinduism there reposes the real National power in India". The author also contributes Chapter III in narration of "Hinduism and Nationality" embedding the same.<sup>121</sup>

Nationality is not a question of political loyalty alone. It demands a feeling of attachment. It has ramification in the thought and action regarding all aspects of a nation's life. "All Indians to whatever caste, creed, language, sex, sect or way of worship they may belong, have a common obligation towards this nation and common rights born out of these obligations. All those people who look upon this vast country as their home and cherish its culture, tradition and way of life are one people, one nation."<sup>121a</sup> Again, as a matter of argument, Prof. Madhok cites Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in the context of Jinnah's demand for two-nation theory. Nehru is said to have replied Jinnah that the Muslims of India were mainly converts and not foreigners. Azad claimed that 95% of the Muslims were converts.<sup>122</sup> Justifying separate Islamic state in India in 1940, J. Ahmed writes in his work "Is India a Nation?" : "A people, when it develops, out of the consciousness of a historical past and future destiny, the will to form a state becomes a Nation."<sup>123</sup> The definition is justified (though the subsequent argument is not). Mahatma Gandhi in a letter to Jinnah, on 15 September 1944, wrote, "I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants, claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children.....You do not claim to be a separate nation by right of conquest but by reason of acceptance of Islam."<sup>124</sup>

R.N. Gilchrist's conclusion is that the Census Report of Edward Gait greatly harmed the argument of homogeneity of India; yet the Report conceded that "the supremacy of Hinduism as the characteristic religion of India is not yet threatened."<sup>125</sup> To recall K.M. Munshi, "Indian culture is a living force. It absorbs alien elements



when necessary but transmutes richness."<sup>126</sup> And Indian culture is nothing but 'Hindutva', emphasises Prof. S.C. Dash, eminent Political Scientist.<sup>127</sup> For that matter, T.N. Seshan, former Chief Election Commissioner, stated: "All of us are Hindus.....I believe that anybody who calls himself an Indian is a Hindu. We have lost sight of this very fundamental principle of our lives."<sup>128</sup>

There has been a unique way of life in India emanating from the ancient period, which may be called Indian culture or Hindu culture. Just as the river Ganga springs out of Gangotri, its initial point, and its mainstream remains the same till the end in spite of the fact that a number of rivers and streams have merged into it in its course. The complexion of the water at certain points may look 'composite', but the mainstream remains unaffected. Similarly, Hindu way of life cannot take shape of a composite one along with certain imposed heterogeneous cultures. It means, the culture which hardly carries relevance to India has nothing to do with the mainstream.

It again tempts Savarkar to proclaim: ".....Verily the Hindus as a people differ markedly from any other people in the world than they differ amongst themselves."<sup>129</sup> Citing quintessence from the West, he further clarifies, "It is not a political fact but a human one that religion, racial, cultural, linguistic or historical affinities make men feel more akin to each other than the only fact of their residing in a common habitat unless that is an addition to these common ties."<sup>130</sup>

Again, though culture and religion are related, they are not synonymous. Majority of the inhabitants of Indonesia are Muslims. Yet they regard Ram as their ideal personality and Ramayana as the venerated scripture. They use to stage 'Ram Leela' (dance drama on Ram's life). It is because Ram and Ramayana are intrinsically related with the land and history of Indonesia.<sup>131</sup> Again, the name of their Head of the State

was Sukarno. Large number of Muslims of Indonesia bear Hindu names. Name of their air-lines is 'Garuda'—the consort of Lord Vishnu. So, it is the question of ancestry which prompts the sentiments of a given people for their identification. Culture of all the Islamic nations or Christian populated nations are not the same.

Moreover, culture must not be confused with civilisation. Civilisation deals with exterior outfit and embellishment or what may be termed as material prosperity; but culture is related with ethical aspects of a society. Civilisation is extrovert, whereas culture is introvert, innate, which springs from within, and which is carried aloft by tradition. Consequently, Indian civilisation might be composite one—that is in relation to dress, fashion, food, etc. For instance, 'salwar-kamiz', 'biryani', 'gazal' have become integral parts of Indian dress, food and song respectively. But culture cannot be composite one just as there cannot be a composite body. Cultural pluralism in one nation is a contradiction in term.

Culture involves the value system governing the individual *vis-a-vis* the society. Heritage is marked with compliance of that culture, and tradition is characterised with complying continuity of the same. Then only a living organic nation finds space in human history.

Further, while contemplating "one people one culture" Hindu culture must not be viewed as monolithic or rigid in its manifestation. It has never prescribed uniformity of life or fixed principles to be followed. It recognises variety, not diversity, of course, as suggested by Vivekananda.<sup>132</sup> This variety is pointer to its richness and dynamism, and has inspired many to strike new paths in the spiritual realm.<sup>133</sup> Hindu culture is indebted with its catholicity. It earns the potentiality of absorption and assimilation. Recognition of species blooms the genus. It led Dr. Radhakrishnan to comment that "Hinduism is a movement, not a position, a process not a result; a growing tradition, not a fixed revelation."<sup>134</sup> However, the



essential nature of Hindu culture cannot be compromised by that, or in other words, it cannot invite self-destruction.

Further, it is the language factor through which a nation expresses itself. Sanskrit is obviously the mother of all Indian-origin languages. It is true that some languages originated abroad are in use in India. But the question at stake is which language contains and expresses the culture, heritage and entirety of a nation's life? It is obviously Sanskrit which qualifies in India and merits attention. It embodies in itself the whole range of Indianness. Thus, it has been a great unifying factor of Indian nationhood. Romila Thapar observes that much of the early history of India was reconstructed almost entirely from Sanskrit sources, i.e., from material presented in the ancient classical language. Many of these works, she continues, were religious in nature and this naturally coloured the interpretation of the past.<sup>135</sup>

Common history provides the test of identification of the people. By common history we mean common feeling of joy and sorrow in the annals of history as well as common memory. One section of the people cannot take privilege to side with one who is viewed as villain to others. There cannot be two histories of one nation. History tests the testimony for identification of a nation. It reflects the biography and philosophy of a nation. A society is nothing but the product of history and history cannot be tampered at one's whim. Dr. Ambedkar rightly puts that those who forget history cannot create history.<sup>136</sup> This explanation seems imperative to unfold that Hindus do possess a common history and display common sentiment while casting glance to the past. Different battles, victories and defeats, vicissitude of their national life expose them as one solid nation. Any deviation or aberration is constraint to suffer from self-alienation.<sup>137</sup>

Thus, Indo-Aryan culture, common joy and sorrow on national affairs and its history, a natural geographical boundary encompassed with Himalayas in north and seas



on three sides. Sanskrit language and literature, do shape the Hindus as a nation since the dawn of civilisation on this land. It testifies itself. It is axiomatic. It is a settled fact that there is a definite set of a people who advanced this nation in its chequered history. Different sects like Shak, Hun and Kushana came and settled in India, and they merged out and out with the native nationals.<sup>138</sup> Foreign invasion from Central Asia took place in eighth century. Repeated foreign aggression and successive alien rule ruled the roost in Indian history. It is true that many aliens settled down here amicably for all time to come and thus ceased to be called alien (as mentioned above). It has reached such a stage that it is hardly possible to distinguish them from the rest. Indian culture, on the contrary, has exhibited potentiality in absorbing and assimilating the foreigners. However, it resulted transformation of national complexion with the march of history; and this processing continued till the current century. However, those who yet professed alien culture and obliged to it have been constraint to find alienation from the mainstream of Indian nationalism.

A nation is a natural phenomenon like a river course. Swami Vivekananda categorically maintained that a nation is not in making. Dr. Radhakrishnan emphasised that a nation is not a house which could be built by mortar and bricks. It is not an industrial plan too which could be discussed and implemented by experts. Any concept of concocted nationhood is a paradox, and bound to cancel itself. Hindu nationalism stands on the basis of natural advancement. It holds that a nation has a will, a purpose, ideal, spirit and soul. Every nation has, thus, a message to convey, a mission to fulfill. H.V. Seshadri puts it succinctly, that India is an ancient nation with a long and unbroken tradition of certain unique life ideals. "Whosoever accepts this verdict of our history has no other go but to fall back on the concept of Hindu Rashtra."<sup>139</sup>

The Hindus obviously possess certain dose of edge

in nurturing patriotism for Indians in comparison to the so-called non-Hindus. India has been the cradle or origin and development of Hinduism in general and its different sects in particular. The heroes and shrines of Hindus are none but the heroes and shrines of India. The holy mountains and rivers of India are none but of Hindus. In other words, to the Hindus, Ram and Krishna, Ganga and Yamuna, the Himalayas and the Vindhya, Kashi and Puri are points of adoration. Their language Sanskrit and their scriptures Vedas, Ramayana, Mahabharata and Puranas originated and developed corresponding to this land. All these points of honour are integral parts of Indian history, culture and geography. Consequently whenever one speaks of Indian culture, it specifically implies to Hindu culture. Conversely, Indian epics and classics directly connote Ramayana and Mahabharata. The Hindus recall these factors of veneration everywhere in the form of morning hymns and prayers. Some attempts were further taken to augment spiritual value and on this basis unite the society organically and emotionally. Hans Kohn observes in this context that "a truer basis of unity than modern national sentiment was to be found in a common intellectual heritage persisting through an unbroken tradition, and moulding and permeating India's whole social life to the minutest detail, and the peculiar contemplative piety which lies at the root of all various forms of Hinduism."<sup>140</sup>

When an Indian goes abroad to deliver a lecture on Indian culture he is expected to do so on Hindu culture. To make it more clear, if he is to explain a scripture he is expected to deliver on Gita, certainly not on Bible or Koran, notwithstanding the holiness or greatness of the latter. In other words, Gita represents India from this angle. Indian philosophy comprises Vedanta, Sanshya, Nyaya, Vaiseshika, Buddha and Jaina Schools of thought, and not beyond. The Encyclopaedia of Religion traces the origin of all schools of Indian philosophy to the Rig Veda;<sup>141</sup> and it does not include Islam, Judaism and Christianity among the Indian Religions.<sup>142</sup> When we talk



of Indian art, signia, classical Indian music and dance, do they not particularly refer to Hindu art, literature and philosophy?<sup>143</sup> In case of the state of Orissa, for instance, the Odisy dancer, eyes of Lord Jagannath and wheel of Sun Temple Konark constitute the State Symbol—all of which carry Hindu phenomenons. Lord Shiva represents the genesis of Indian classical music.<sup>144</sup> Muslims have also contributed to it. Yet its base is Hindu music.<sup>145</sup>

Golwalkar has beautifully sketched the Hindu identify of Indian nationalism. "Only in the soil of Bharat have the Hindus pinned their sentiments of 'dharma'.....Hence there can never be any conflict in his mind between 'Swadharma' and 'Swadesh'; there has always been identification between the two. There are no divided loyalty in him. It is impossible to find in him any loyalty to 'dharma' in contradistinction or in opposition to loyalty to country. It is a positive proof that Hindus are a hundred percent national society here."<sup>146</sup> He reiterates, "The spirit or consciousness which unites our past with present with the future and covers all aspects of our nationhood, is exactly that is conveyed by the term Hindu Rashtra."<sup>147</sup> He categorically states that the Hindu society "is the notion of this land". "Scholars the world over, who have analysed the concept of nationalism scientifically, have confirmed it". Hindu nation "is not a doctrine or dogma", he emphasises, but "it is the truth and should be acknowledged as such."<sup>148</sup>

Bal Gangadhar Tilak's conception of nationalism was "a combination of the Vedanta ideal of the spiritual unity of mankind and the western notion of nationalism as propounded by Mazzini, Burke, Mill and Wilson."<sup>149</sup> He believes that the unity that language provides to the people of a region had to be strengthened. But more than any language it was Hinduism which, according to him, was the uniting force of the whole people of India. He pointed out that although different monarchs ruled over different parts of India, there existed a sort of 'Hindu Rashtra' in the sense that there was a religious unity



among the Hindus from Kashmir to Cape Comrin and from Puri to Dwarka."<sup>150</sup> To an outstanding historian, the early Hindu history unmistakably shows that the political consciousness of the people had from very early times grasped the whole of India as a unit, and assimilated the entire land as the theatre of its activities.<sup>151</sup> To another author, "Historically it is fact that there was unity in Hindu civilisation in ancient India."<sup>152</sup> Of course, it is not only a matter of past, but has been rolling down gathering mass and momentum. Consequently historians like Vincent Smith and Dr. Panicker have come to the conclusion that the Indian history is nothing but Hindu history. When Benazir Bhutto ventures to submit that she is proud to have been born in the land (Sindh) which produced a great civilisation,<sup>153</sup> which civilisation does she refer? Her inkling obviously refers to the Vedic civilisation of even undivided India!

So, Bruce D. Graham proceeds, "In essence, Hindu nationalism is a theory of Hinduism which demonstrates its characteristic not by reference to specific texts and traditions in the manner of the 'Sanatana Dharma Sabha', nor by reference to the interpretations of a particular philosopher or teacher in the manner of the Arya Samaj, but by the expansion of a historically derived doctrine of what Hinduism has been as a cultural force and what it could become given the right conditions."<sup>154</sup> Prof. Madhok adds that numerous ethnic and racial groups have contributed to the making of the Indian people, but life of all of them has been imperceptibly coloured and moulded in the Indian pattern by the Aryan culture and ideals, the Arya race spirit.<sup>155</sup>

Same point had been earlier explained by Aurobindo Ghose—that "the ground work of what may well be called the composite culture of India is undoubtedly Hindu. Though the present Indian nationality is composed of many races and the present Indian culture of more than one World Civilisation, yet it must be admitted that the Hindu forms its base and centre, and while admitting to

all varied influences and expanding itself perpetually under all these foreign contacts, it has given a distinct mark to these world cultures that have found a habitation in India....The Hindu culture, however, on account of its age and its superior numerical strength, will always form the culture and civilisation. The dominant note of Hindu culture, its sense of the spiritual and universal will, therefore, be the particular feature of this composite Indian Nationality....And the type of spirituality that it (the new movement of the Swadeshi days) seeks to develop, is essentially Hindu."<sup>156</sup>

Lala Lajpat Rai perfectly adds, "Ram and Sita, Krishna and Arjuna, are national heroes and heroines of whose magnificent deeds and righteous activities—without distinction of caste, creed or race—might well feel proud. The 'Upanishads' and the 'Darshanas' are in a peculiar manner the common heritage of all Indians, no matter to what religion they belong now. So patriotism is the hand-maiden of Vedicism, is unifying. Instead of fermenting discord, it promotes love and fosters harmony. The Vedic Church supports Indian nationalism, by inspiring nationalists with pride in the past and hope in the future. They, as we have shown above, Vedicism fosters healthy patriotism, which statesmanship like that of Morley and Minto recognises as a force to be encouraged and enlisted on the side of law....The Vedic Dharma....is not only a creed, but a way of looking at other things, a point of view. The Vedas teach us social conduct of individual and social governance and political philosophy."<sup>157</sup>

Aurobindo declared : "Our ideal is an Indian nationalism, largely Hindu in its spirit and traditions, because the Hindu made the land and the people, and persists by the greatness of his part, his culture and his invincible verility, in holding it, but wide enough also to include the Moslem and his culture and traditions and absorb them into itself."<sup>158</sup> Though a critic of Hindu nationalism, Anwarul Haq Sehmi even concedes the fact that "the nationalism became more conscious, coherent



in course of time, (but its display was conscious from the very first day of advent in India), to which it gave the name of Hindusthan—the home of Hindus."<sup>159</sup>

A Hindu Mahasabha Document makes appraisal that through its long history "this Hindu ideology has been the most dominant force in the formation of a powerful nation. At a later stage, the history of foreign invasion started and thereafter, Indian history is nothing but the history of Hindu resistance to foreign aggression."<sup>160</sup> Similarly, the Manifesto of Bharatiya Jana Sangh (1951) reads: "All the creeds that form commonwealth of the Bharatiya Rashtra have their share in the stream of Bharatiya culture which has flown down from the Vedas in an unbroken continuity and assimilating contributions made by different peoples, creeds and cultures that came in touch with it in the course of history, in such a way as to make them indistinguishable part and parcel of the main current". The Bharatiya culture is thus one and indivisible."<sup>161</sup>

It is evident that ancient India was undeclaredly Hindu nation revealing in the form of Vedic-Upanishadic era. But why and how the course swerved in later stage? It is true that few foreigners walked over it. But it does not militate against the age-old course. In fact, it did not happen in spite of political change at the apex and certain conversions. But present day thinking has diluted the mainstream considerably under the adverse forces of history and hence there is urgency to delve into introspection. Tennyson's composition of "The Brook" reminds that men may come and men may go, but "I" go on forever. Organic personality of Indian nationalism does not fall short of it.

To Bipin Chandra Pal, Hindu consciousness is the special feature of Hindu nationality, and nationality is the individuality of a people.<sup>162</sup> Another author provides an assessment that nationalism in India having grown up in its separate environment, had its own individual



personality and distinctive character though some of its features were inevitably common to nationalism everywhere.<sup>163</sup> He analyses that "Hindu consciousness of national frontiers is best illustrated in their institution of pilgrimage, which expects a Hindu to visit the various holy places, distributed throughout the length and breadth of the country. Significantly, the four most important of these are located in the extremities of four directions"—snow-cladding Badrinath in the north, sea-touching Puri in the east and Rameswaram in the south, and Dwarka in the west". "The deepest sentiments of love and service for India were voiced in the Vedic and Epic literature. Manusmriti regards Mother and Mother-country as greater than heaven. Daily prayer of a Hindu requires him to worship the image of the mother-country as the land of seven rivers (Ganga, Yamuna, Godavari, Saraswati, Narmada, Sindhu, Kaveri), and of seven cities (Ayodhya, Mathura, Hardwar, Kashi, Kanchi, Avantika, Dwarka)". It was the resuscitation of this image which gives a definite meaning of nationalism for the Hindus, who recognised it at once and responded to the call with the required intensity of feeling, "but it is an alien picture for the muslims whose opposition to idolism....verged in inconcoclasm."<sup>164</sup> The author clarifies that the curious and complex character of Indian nationalism would be extremely difficult to explain unless it is done in terms of Indian cultural traditions.<sup>165</sup>

To the thinking of Savitri Devi, "When we speak of an allegiance to India of the same nature as the allegiance of a Frenchman to France, for instance,....We have said that no religion other than Hinduism can provide the basis of Pan-Indian nationalism comparable to certain extent, to that of Japan, an exterior cult of the traditional gods and goddesses of India... It would also be a devotional nationalism—absolute, unconditional love of each and every individual Hindu for that great Being."<sup>166</sup>

D.B. Heater outlines seven kinds of nationalism in which he locates Hindu nationalism below: (i) Racial-

cum-Linguistic Nationalism, Racial-cum-Religious Nationalism, (iii) Democratic Nationalism, (iv) *Ibid.* (in varied form), (v) Supra-Nationalism (League of Nations), (vi) Totalitarianism, (vii) A nationalism (non-nationalism). He brackets the Jews and the Hindus under the second one. In his words, "...Another nation (after the Jews) which is the embodiment of racial religious type of nationalism and yet lays a claim to modern nationalism is the Hindu nationalism of Bharat."<sup>167</sup>

The author probes that the Hindu nation derives its inspiration from its outlook, its social orientation and 'weltanschauung' — 'auung' from the Hindu religion, and finds out Hinduism as the most influential of all the cults "...which its genesis has interwoven into very structure". For this reason the Hindu religion and Hindu nationalism have come to assume an indissoluble single identical existence, he asserts. "The romantic sacredness of song-dance tradition and the countless host of legends and myths, gods and goddesses....In Hinduism or Hindu nationalism it continues to live till date in actual, practical day-to-day life."<sup>168</sup> He concludes that Indian nationalism is Hindu nationalism to the core of its sub-conscious stage, but it has not operated against the sub-consciousness always."<sup>169</sup>

Sardar Gurnam Singh, retired High Court Justice and Chief Minister of Punjab in 1967, said that everyone who worship Mother-India and is ready to sacrifice for her sake is a Hindu.<sup>170</sup> Much earlier Annie Besant had aired same kind of view. Addressing the students of Central Hindu College of Benaras, she said: "Make no mistake without Hinduism India has no future. Hinduism is the soil into which India's roots are struck, and torn out of that she will inevitably wither, as a tree torn out from its place. Many are the religions and many are the races which are flourishing in India, nor is necessary for her endurance as a nation. Every one might pass away as they came, and India would still remain. But let Hinduism vanish, and what is she? A geographical



expression of the past, a dim memory of a perished glory.....Zoroastrian came for refuge..... Zoroastrianism might pass, and India would remain. Buddhism has disappeared and would remain....Christianity might pass and India would remain. India lived before their coming : India could live after their passing. But let Hinduism go, Hinduism that was India's cradle, and in that passing would be India's grave. Then would India be but a memory, as are Egypt and Egypt's religion now."<sup>171</sup>

A doordarshan bulletin once telecast that if India remains bell would be ringed in the church, 'namaz' would be offered in the mosque, and crunch would be blown in the temple.<sup>172</sup> But the counter-point is that if India would be perished bell would be ringed in Rome, and 'namaz' would be offered in Mecca, but where crunch would be blown? This is to mean that Indian nation and Hinduism go together. It is not that India lives to protect Hinduism in term of religion, but in term of protecting its age long vitality. Conversely, Hinduism cannot be conceived of without India. It led Vivekananda to comment that "India is Hindu and Hindu is India."<sup>173</sup>

In his famous Uttarpara speech, Aurobindo explained the 'Sanatana Hindu Dharma' in the form of Indian nation. In his words, "I do not say now that nationalism is a religion, a belief. I want to say that 'Sanatana Dharma' is our nationalism. This Hindu nation was created along with the 'Sanatana Dharma'. It is moving with it and it is sprouting with it. When 'Sanatana Dharma' is eroded the nation would also be eroded. 'Sanatana Dharma' means nationalism."<sup>174</sup>

K.L. Purohit feels that spiritualism is the central point of national life in India,<sup>175</sup> which is substantiated by Hindu way of life : and he does not accept the contention that Indian nationalism was a gift of Britain.<sup>176</sup> N.R. Roy smells diversity in Indian society in every gamut; yet he feels that the peoples of the sub-continent may legitimately claim to have a community of cultures."<sup>177</sup>



He adds that Hinduism is verily society-centered and not state and politics-oriented as Islam is.<sup>178</sup>

To the Hindu nationalists, the nation is a soul, a mystical spirit, a living organism blooming with dynamism, which is felt, thought, remembered and hoped. Aurobindo holds that the spirit of every race and nation is revealed progressively through the particular line of its historic evolution and clothes the spirit of God. Every civilisation is a working out of a Divine Idea, the manifestation of a Divine Ideal, the revelation of a Divine Purpose. The genius of every nation is as much a temple of God, as the body or the spirit of individual man.<sup>179</sup> This is true revelation of Hindu nationalism.

The report by the Study Group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs submitted that Indian nationalism is predominantly Hindu in its association.<sup>180</sup> It maintained: "There can be no doubt that men feel disposed to others who resemble them in language, appearance, habits, opinions and place of abode"<sup>181</sup> and this test verily vindicates the cause of Hindu nationalism in India.

S. Dutta feels that race is a biological fact. "But because of vastness of India's geography and longest history multiplicity of races cannot be ruled out in point of time and space". He moves in the line of Gilchrist and Tagore in the context of explaining race factor in Indian nationalism.<sup>182</sup> In spite of this difficulty he admits the dominance of Aryan stock in Indian nationalism. In his words, "The practice and observance of a common religion induces a certain unity of social life which has been accounted by some political philosophers to be one of the basic factors of nationality". "In India, since the beginning of history there has grown up a complex multiform system of religion and religious culture.....it is popularly known Hinduism. It is Aryan in its origin, in its dominant love and temperament, in its resultant social culture, connected in fact by ties of affinity, through its

mythology, rites, rituals and cultural forms with the other religious system evoked by peoples belonging to the great Aryan stock". "The system (of Aryan stock) is undoubtedly indigenous to the soil. Its beginnings are lost in the mist of the ages, and the period of its growth covers long centuries of Indian history.....Its distinguishing genius as well as its baffling quality has been a phenomenal power of absorption and assimilation."<sup>183</sup>

The author further hails : "....The geographical consciousness finds its ideal expression in the spread of wonderful network of Hindu shrines and temples all over India, knitting the whole country into one ideal, cultural unit. The institution of pilgrimage was in itself a means of realisation of this ideal unity of India". It enables the people to think and feel that India is not a mere congeries of geographical fragments, but a single tough immense organism filled with the tide of one pulsating life from end to end."<sup>184</sup> He comments that "the love of country of a Hindu trained in such traditions, is not the love of the Britisher. . . rooted in a deep-lying sense of history, nor is it such patriotism as animates the nationalist in France."<sup>185</sup>

Regarding the so-called non-Hindus, Atal Bihari Vajpayee views, "Indian Muslims and Christians did not come from outside. Their ancestors were Hindus. Culture does not change with the religion. Culture is associated with land and nationality is related with commitments."<sup>186</sup> So, historically speaking, those who display commitment for this land are obviously Hindus. However, Gilchrist regrettably puts that the Mohammedan, differing radically in his religious views and tracing with pride his ancestry to the great Arab and Mogal conquerors<sup>187</sup> is not likely ever to claim kinship with the pacific Hindus.<sup>188</sup> But Sir Syed Ahmed, doyen of Islamic education, had rightly expressed that all inhabitants of Hindusthan are integral parts of Hindu nation. In his words, "Just as the Aryan people are called Hindus, even so are also Muslims Hindu, that is to say inhabitants of Hindusthan."<sup>189</sup> He regretted



that he was not being regarded as a Hindu although he too was an inhabitant of Hindusthan."<sup>190</sup>

Conclusively, as Vivekananda has put, the Indian unity is evident from one ancient civilisation and common love and common hates. Dr. Radhakrishnan shares view with him that Hinduism constitutes a single entity with essential unity.<sup>191</sup> He defines this unity as an one-ness of spirit among the religious practices of India, and it is the achievement of Hinduism. Hindu culture, he holds, is a single culture throughout India and through: Indian history. "It possesses some vitality which seems to be denied to some forceful dissect Hinduism than to open a tree to see whether the sap still runs."<sup>192</sup> Therefore, John Woodroffe clearly visualises Indian civilisation in the form of Hindu civilisation.<sup>193</sup> Tara Chand moves in the same stream of thought : "Though the present Indian nationality is composed of many races and the present Indian culture is of more than one world civilisation, yet it must be admitted that the Hindu forms its base and culture; and those world cultures that have found a habitation in India."<sup>194</sup>

Dawa Norbu draws inference thus : "Consider the implications of the following facts about Hinduism; that all saints are Indians, that most of its myths and legends are localised within the Indian sub-continent; that almost all of its numerous gods and goddesses are dressed in costumes which look like Indians....that Sanskrit is the classical 'lingua franca' of Hinduism. Hindu, Hindusthan and Hinduism are once again inextricably linked together. The Hindu nationalist movement from its beginning to the end was sustained by the discovery and revival of that sacred unity. Almost all the Hindu nationalist leaders dwelt on the unity of Hinduism and the Hindusthan and the Hindus; they all lamented the damage done by Islam and the British to the primordial unity...."<sup>195</sup>

Bankin Chandra had sounded: "I have certainly no serious hope of progress in India except in Hinduism—in



Hinduism reformed, regenerated and purified."<sup>196</sup> Balasaheb Deoras echoed the same when he expressed that when we talk of reform in Indian society, it directly refers to casteism and other such stigmas of Hindu society particularly.<sup>197</sup> The same line was pursued by the great reformers right since Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Mahatma Gandhi and after.

Sikandar Bakt attempts to solve the problem and blasts the traditional contention. To him, Indian nationalism means Indian culture; and every Indian irrespective of Hindu and Muslim has the same culture. When we talk of composite culture, he adds, it is bound to give rise to division—it is no nationalism."<sup>198</sup>

In its entirety, Hindu nationalism is that kind of nationalism which sprouted on Indian soil right since the dawn of history—in fact, from pre-historic epoch since there is no recorded history of India so far as the ancient period is concerned. Hindu nationalism, in essence, is distinct from the rest of the world. The whole misgiving on Hindu nationalism crops up due to the fact that 'Hindu' was equated with a denomination, 'Dharma' was construed as a religion, the myth of Aryan invasion/migration was endorsed, and nationalism was euphemistically considered as mere political, economic and military phenomenon. Beside these compulsions Indian history was phenomenally distorted and misinterpreted resulting erosion of Hindu ethos and perception in socio-national life. Unfortunately, we are to bear the intellectual burden of clarifying certain imposed concepts. A given people may have something distinct and characteristic marks, which cannot be equated with those of others nor those can be applied without indigenous scrutiny. The same is the case with Hindu nationalism which carries distinct bearing and reference, and those must not be clubbed with traditional institutionalised concepts. Some concepts have widely gained ground, and simply depending on the logic of its general acceptance does not count for wisdom and

scholarship.

Present author corroborates J.T.F. Jordens's view who holds, "We use this term (Hindu nationalism) in this book in the sense of a nationalism deeply rooted in Hindu culture and religion, the sense in which "Hindu nationalisms in Uttar Pradesh (1867-1900), Stuttgart, 1970", also by C.H. Helmsath in his work "Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform". Substance of all these works indicates that Hindu nationalism broadly refers to cultural nationalism in India with its wide spectrum. Here the term 'cultural' is used technically in order to encompass the entire gamut of national life—if analysed in details it stands at par with Hindu nationalism without any kind of misgiving. Moreover, it seeks to distinguish itself from the territorial, secular and political nationalism of the West. Its emphasis lie with cultural in broad perspective, and meets in Hinduness.

So far it is studies in the present chapter, following points emerge in the form of substance:

- (i) Hindu nationalism owes a classical origin and growth in India and hence Indian nationalism stands synonymous with Hindu nationalism. In other words, the essence and the base of Indian nationalism lies in Hinduness.
- (ii) Indian nation is as ancient as Indian civilisation itself. Consequently, it is the earliest nation in the history of mankind.
- (iii) The concept of Hindu nationalism is distinct from traditional western nationalism. In other words, Hindu nationalism cannot be interpreted in strict European frame or visualised in European edifice.
- (iv) However, Hindu nationalism satisfies the overall definitions on nationalism—particularly that of Mazzini-Renan school, which may be roughly

bracketed within philosophic idealism. Without pushing itself deep into the permutation and combination of western nationalism Hindu nationalism is possessed of all imperative ingredients of nationhood such as naturally defined geography (as far as possible), race, religion, language, common history, tradition, heritage, point of honour and so on; moreover, subjectively, the same kind of heart-beating or display of emotion such as feeling of common love and common hate.

- (v) Further, Hindu nationalism is not narrow as regimented nor chauvinist as experienced at common parlance. It is universalistic, humanistic, broader, non-communal, non-sectarian and non-theocratic.
- (vi) Thus, Hindu nationalism has a historical, geographical and cultural base in India. K.R. Malkani observes that the history of India constitutes the philosophy of the Indian nationalists. This conforms the philosophy of the Indian nationalists all through. As right Idealism, it synthesises history and philosophy. Keeping this in mind Malkani quotes Napoleon, who lying on his bed, said : "May my son study history for it is the only philosophy."<sup>100</sup>
- (vii) Finally, Hindu nationalism and cultural nationalism are synonymous in Indian context. Conclusively, the Hindu way of life and philosophy constitutes the mainstream of Indian way of life—that is the national substratum—that is the root—that is the base—that is the soul and spirit of India. It is not a mystical imagination, but a creative social paradigm. Precisely, core of the concept of Hindutva is this kind of identification of religio-cultural consciousness with Indian nationhood in total wavelength. Thus Hindutva represents Indian nationalism in wide ramification.



## NOTES AND REFERENCES

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# 4

## SECULARISM AND HINDU NATIONALISM

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The term and concept of secularism has occupied the centre-stage of Indian nationalism in recent period. Whenever a religio-cultural upheaval of national importance like that of Ram Janmabhoomi makes headway, the bogey of secularism is very well on card with the tactical argument of upholding Indian cultural heritage. Ironically the critics themselves have hardly any stake with Indian culture; but they do not mince word to use it merely as a matter of shield. Of late, entire political polarisation is getting shape under the spell of secularism. But the tragedy is that those who are fed on debased intellectual diet of imported copy-hook maxims are quite enthusiastic to preserve Indian heritage of their understanding which is truly poignant. Therefore, it is imperative to brainstorm on the vexed question of secularism in the context of Indian nation, or to be specific, Hindu nationalism.

Pope Inocent (1198-1216) used to interfere in the political establishment of England and France; and Boumifes Pope VIII occupied the office in 1281 A.D. who quaralled with French King Phillipe. Their conflict is the genesis of the concept of secularism in Europe,<sup>1</sup> which is

ruling the roost. Again, Gettel observes, "The conflict between the church and the state began in Europe in ninth century and continued well upto fifteenth century—the days of renaissance and reformation.<sup>2</sup> History illustrates that the Pope used to exert unusual power over the Holy Roman Empire, and it was the genesis of reaction. The renaissance ushered in insulation of the church from the state. The former is supposed to deal with spiritual dimension, whereas the latter with material aspect. This dissemination of the material from the spiritual is really the root and primary signification of secularism. Marsilio of Padua rolled the ball in fourteenth century so far as the concept of secularism is concerned. He wrote in his work "Defensor of Peace" (1324 A.D.) that "Right of the citizens does not depend on their religion and no individual can be punished for his religion."<sup>3</sup>

The word 'secular' comes from the old French word 'secular', which again descends from the Latin word 'secularis'.<sup>4</sup> In ancient Rome, state functions were divided into two, viz., religious and secular—the latter symbolising the Olympic game.<sup>5</sup> Advanced Learner's Dictionary, defines the term secularism in similar strain, i.e. "worldly or material, not religious or spiritual. . . . the state contrasted with the church."<sup>6</sup> However, the term 'secular' owes its name and in large measure, its existence, to the life and labour of George Jacob Holyoak, who started a materialist movement in England in 1846.<sup>7</sup>

In toto, secularism has got two broad significations, viz., (i) that it is opposed to a theocratic state, or the idea of having a state religion; and (ii) it is concerned with material as distinguished with spiritual.<sup>8</sup> The first is compatible with Hindu nationalism since it does not conform a theocratic state; but it does not satisfy the second test since spiritual and material aspects are not considered antithetical. Further, to L.M. Singhvi, secularism has three dimensions, viz., the state shall not discriminate against any individual or group; second, every individual shall have the same and equal access to



human rights. And third is that no religious denomination will interfere with the affairs of the state.<sup>9</sup> This analysis has got broad proximity with the thinking of Hindu nationalism.

However, in the way the term secularism is accepted and applied in India is completely averse to the original meaning. Prevalent theory of secularism has been out and out obliterated on the face of ground reality of Indian situation. There is no harm in applying a given concept of any currency, but it must be subjected to rigorous native test. But Indian polity suffers from certain unseemingly predicament eroding the foundation of Indian nationalism itself. Of course, Jawaharlal Nehru conceded that the word 'secular' was "perhaps not a very happy one", and clarified that the term was being used for want of a better word."<sup>10</sup>

Dr. Radhakrishnan interpreted secularism to clarify the question of religion. He wrote in 1947 that "secularism is the chief weakness of our age."<sup>11</sup> He cautioned in his work "Recovery of Faith" that the "religious impartiality of the Indian state is not to be confused with secularism or atheism. Secularism as here defined is in accordance with ancient religious tradition of India". The Hindu view (of tolerance to other faiths) is not motivated by any consideration of political expediency. It is bound up with its religion and its policy. He has equated the ancient tradition of India, i.e., the Hindu view of reality of the concept of a secular state. He cautioned that secular ideologies ask us to worship wealth and comfort.<sup>12</sup> L.M. Singhvi feels that a more equivalent of Indian translation of secularism would be "sampradaya nirapeksha" because "Dharma" in Indian tradition also stands for Law and Morality and no state can be devoid of law and morality.<sup>13</sup> Hindi translation of Indian Constitution justifiably incorporates in itself as "Panth Nirapeksha". Prof. Sankhdher coins a distinct nomenclature, i.e., "Dharma Sapekshavada" which upholds "Dharma" instead of negating it, and attempts tradition and modernity to be

blended in an unique fashion not attempted so far.<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Radhakrishnan made it clear in 1955 thus : "It may appear somewhat peculiar that our Government should be secular one while our culture is rooted in spiritual values". "Secularism here does not mean irreligious or atheism or even stress on the universality of spiritual values which may be attained by a variety of ways."<sup>15</sup>

Every word attains a meaning relating to the cultural context under which it originates.<sup>16</sup> B.R. Ambedkar as Chairman of the Drafting Committee of Indian Constitution clarified that "secular state does not mean irreligious. It only means that the Parliament shall not be competent to impose a particular religion upon the people. This is the only limitation by the Constitution."<sup>17</sup>

Prof. Dorett says that in India, the term secularism has come to be applied to "the co-existence of various religions under the benevolent supervision of the state."<sup>18</sup> Though politically this expression is apparently tenable it does not reflect the true nature of Indian secularism.

However, the term refers to three dimensions as evident from the constitutional provisions, viz., (i) absence of a state religion; (ii) freedom of the individual in matter of religious faith and practice; and (iii) absence of discrimination to different denominations and to treat equally. Theoretically it sounds well, and Hindu nationalism has nothing to dispute fundamentally, but its adherence by the players in politics have led to a great deal of confusion, ambivalence and ordeal.

The trouble appeared in the area when Hinduism was discerned as a religion—a Semitic concept. The origin and signification of the term 'Hindu' covers the entire range of Indian public consciousness. But when the term 'Hindu' was distorted in order to quench political expediency the whole jugglery marked the beginning of a new era. Hinduism was equated with Islam and



Christianity, and the new secularism reduced cultural nationalism into a political one.

Gilchrist's observation carries water-mark here—that there is no definite Hindu creed. "The word 'dharma' which is usually translated as religion, refers more to conduct than to belief". He continues, "Tolerance in matters of religious belief is accompanied by a corresponding intolerance in matter of conduct.....It is popularly believed that Hinduism as a religion is not a close corporation, that as contrasted with Mohammedanism and Christianity, it is non-proselytising, non-missionary."<sup>19</sup>

Two sharp divisions cropped up right since the later part of nineteenth century relating to Indian nationalism. One was understably Hindu nationalism subscribing Indian ethos and the other was secular nationalism of western model. In the then Congress platform the polarisation was crystally visible in the form of Extremism and Moderation respectively. The Extremists drew their inspiration from the hoary past of India, while the Moderates were imbued with the tradition of the West. The former stressed on religio-cultural aspect, but the later threw their lot on politiconomic sector. The former treated Hinduism as the base of Indian nationalism, the latter believed on pluralistic religious base. The former read Indian history in its entirety beginning from its origin, the latter created chasm and sought to divorce from the past. The former relied on the mass, their tradition and aptitude, the latter represented the sentiment of only a few western educated clique.<sup>20</sup> The ball rolled down and colour the early twentieth century with insoluble complexities. It reached at the compromise. Appeasement followed appeasement where there is no end. Separated Electorate incorporated under the Indian Council's Act, 1909 was sluggishly acquiesced, and was legitimatised under Lucknow Pact (1916). By then the common understanding was that Hinduism was mere a religious denomination. that all Indians were outsiders,



that Indian culture was composite, and that a new Indian nation could be manufactured by harbouring Hindu-Muslim unity, the Muslims needed special safeguard, and the Hindus must provide space for protection of minority interest. It ensued advent of Gandhian era compounded by Nehruvism subordinating Hindu cause on the face of virulent minority demands culminating in dismemberment of India.

This concept of secularism which has been enshrined in our Constitution pushes us down from our cultural traditions and divides us into a religion of minority by that. On the contrary, prevailing secularism lacks in accomplishing the atmosphere of tolerance to different systems of worship or faith as was Hindu tradition with regard to 'Shaivites' or 'Vaishnavites', or those who believed in the faith propounded by Guru Nanak, or even with Islam and Christianity.<sup>21</sup>

Golwalkar rightly warned that secularism must not be confused with nationalism. "Nation is a whole and living entity and secularism is only one of the qualities of that state-craft."<sup>22</sup> It means, secularism is only a principle of the state as to how it would deal with varied religious affairs—it is certainly not the foundation of the state. But secularism is presented in a way as if it supplants any other consideration including the nation itself. Nowhere in the world secularism is re-inforced with this kind of intensity. It only unfolds feebleness and bankruptcy of statesmanship.

Whenever the factor of Hindu nationalism or Hindu consolidation emerges the bogey of minority is fielded. Nehru's mind can be expressed here, who stands as the classic representative of the prevalent secularism in India with indelible impression. While he was a student of Cambridge he quipped in 1907 : "What would happen to one-third of the population under this kind of nationalism? (meant Hindu nationalism advocated by the Extremists)."<sup>23</sup> As Prime Minister he clarified in 1950:

**"The Government of a country like India with many religions that have secured great and devoted feelings for generations, can never function satisfactorily in the modern age except on a secular basis". He believed "from the stand-point of national unity and stability that "the principle of secular state represents a sound practical approach. Any other approach would tend to affect religious minorities and impede the progress of national interest."**<sup>24</sup> However, he had to concede the bare fact as evident from his Convocation Address in Aligarh Muslim University in 1948 : **"I have said that I am proud of our inheritance and our ancestors who gave an intellectual and cultural prominence in India....We may adhere to different religious faiths or even to none, but that does not take away from that cultural inheritance that is yours as well as mine. The past holds us together, why should the present or future divide us in spirit."**<sup>25</sup>

The trend of the said secularism has effected transformation of Indian polity to resort vote-bank politics, to create a kind of tolerance of "mouse before the lion", besetting ugly temptation of minority complex with growing tendency of appeasement. There is no scope of mentioning the case studies here. But one would be amazed to find minority interest when special privilege is made for them, say in the case of social reform, whereas the Hindus are asked to submit their interest for the broader interest of the Indian community. It gives rise to pseudo-secularism, something unknown to foreign countries. Factually, wholistic approach should be resorted for all concerned. Matter has become so ridiculous that anything concerned with the minorities is hailed as secular whereas corresponding to Hindus is dubbed as communal.

Interestingly upholders of the so-called secular values carry aloft the banner of Indian heritage in order to legitimatise their claim; but vainly they are rank rootless.<sup>26</sup> A critic rightly remarks, "There is a certain kind of Hindu who is always terrified when he thinks of



Muslims. At every critical moment this particular type of Hindu pretends to be more of a Muslim than a Muslim himself and thwarts the attempts of those who are trying to make the average Muslim less of a fanatic."<sup>27</sup>

RSS reply to the Bahri Tribunal in 1993 goes a long way in the present context: "The ideology of RSS holds the Muslims as part of and not distinct from the Hindus. It is the political definition of Hindus and the minority politics that has been obliterating and vivisectioning the broad cultural identity of the Hindus, pruning and limiting the cultural search of the term Hindus which include Jains, Buddhists and Sikhs and as much the Muslims, to the political meaning which tends to exclude not only the Muslims, but also Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains"<sup>28</sup>.....The RSS holds on 'the cultural concept and regards the Muslims, Christians and Parsees as Hindus, although their method of worship are different, for examples, Shaivites or Vaishnavites....That answering association states that the conflict and assimilating thought espoused by the RSS ....is 'Hindutva', which is an inclusive and not exclusive, and an integrating concept. The RSS by conviction attaches to the term Hindu the cultural and civilisational meaning accorded by history."<sup>29</sup>

The cultural nationalists probe that whenever Hindus have disintegrated the nation suffered external and internal threats. Hindu cultural life, on the other hand, has been serving as a boon to strengthen Indian nation. It never endangered peace and existence of other so-called non-Hindus. Prof. Javed Alam is struck with the amazing capacity of tolerance of Hinduism, "which is the notion of a secular community."<sup>30</sup> No excess have ever been committed in the name of religion by any Hindu ruler, past or present. "Hinduism has the highest tradition of tolerance of different modes of worship, infact that is its special cultural feature and achievement....Hindu religion has no animus towards others, if a Hindu is not tolerant of other people professing a different faith, he is not a Hindu."<sup>31</sup> "No blood was shed in India for or in the



name of religion except by the invaders. Intolerance came with counterfeit versions of Christianity and Islam."<sup>32</sup> Therefore, the Hindu nationalists hasten to believe that a consolidated Hindu society is the best guarantee for perpetual existence of all the people in India irrespective of religious sects and creeds. It does not amount to paramountcy of the majority community, but reinforcement of national tradition. Rather the majority-minority thinking serves as breeding backdrop of social cleavage and communal holocaust.

The secular nationalists do not believe in absorptive assimilative theory of Indian history and culture lest it might lead to Hindu hegemony. But empirically it makes no sense so much so that other religions could not have made their headway if the Hindus would have displayed negative attitude. Hindu thought does not tend to exterminate others or indulge in religious persecution.<sup>33</sup> Hinduism does not thrust on anyone what he does not want.<sup>34</sup> Upanishad declared:

"Gavam aneka varnam kshirasyastya eka narvate;  
Kshirarat pasyate jnanam yatha."

It means, though cows are of a many colours, their milk is of one colour; the truth is one like the milk while the forms are many like the cows.<sup>35</sup> Another verse reads:

"Ekam sat, vipra bahuda vadanti".

It means the reality is one, scholars describe it in different ways". "God has no name. It is we who give him a name". Achut Patwardhan, a veteran freedom fighter and socialist intellectual, traces out these Hindu roots of Indian secularism and clarifies, "It is in this sense the word secularism is relevant to the present Indian situation."<sup>36</sup>

A.H. Merriam feels that Hinduism emphasises

individual meditation rather than dogma. On the other hand, "Islam counsels a theocracy or religious state, a concept absent in Hinduism."<sup>37</sup> Theocracy may be defined here as the establishment of the state on the basis of beliefs and dogmas of self-righteous religion, in-tolerant of all other modes of worship. "The custodians of such a religion dictate what policies the state should or should not pursue. But all these are anathema to the Hindu concept of state-craft. "The personal faith of the ruler or of the majority of the subjects does not enjoy any preference over the rest. All are equally respected by the state in their honest religious pursuits. This is so because of the ingrained Hindu conviction of as many ways to reach God as there are diversities of human faculties and temperaments. Such has been our unique historical traditions also."<sup>38</sup>

India was never a theocratic state as such. Ashoka was the only exception who patronised Buddhism. Yet he was liberal in his approach. He never persecuted anybody in the name of religion. In his twelfth edict, Ashoka proclaimed: "He who does reverence to his own sect, while disparaging the sects of others, wholly from attachment to his own, with intent to enhance the glory of his sect in reality, by such conduct, inflict the severest injury on his own sect. Concord, therefore, is meritorious to wit hearkening and hearkening willingly to the law of piety as accepted by other people."<sup>39</sup> Ashoka perceptibly announced : "*Devam priyah priyadarshi raja sarvate icchhati sarve pasanda vaseyuh*", which means the making desires that everywhere all religions will dwell.<sup>40</sup>

Multi-religious expression of Indian society would be commendable<sup>41</sup> so much so that there are different religious denominations in this country, and the state would treat "*sarva dharma sama bhava*" (equal treatment to all religions). One legacy of the Vedic State was the complete separation of the ruling from the priestly power,<sup>42</sup> and this is what secularism vows.



Ramakrishna and Vivekananda did not reject any school of thought. To them man moves from truth to higher truth, not from error to truth. Hindu system urges to be accommodative. This philosophic outlook makes it catholic. In the words of Jawaharlal, "In Indian cultural tradition we find some inner urge towards synthesis, derived essentially from the Indian philosophical outlook, was the dominant feature of Indian cultural, and even social development."<sup>43</sup> One Christian scholar approached one Shankaracharya for polemic. Latter explained that whatever was there in Christianity was also there in Hinduism; hence there was no need of scriptural acrobatic. But the former insisted on his superiority and asked "Well. What is your conception on cosmology?" The Shankaracharya counter-questioned him. The Christian scholar replied : "God willed, and the cosmos was created". Shankaracharya corroborated it. It is the question of mutual appreciation, not conflict. This is the reason basically with which Vivekananda won the heart of millions in West.

The secular nationalists did further harm when they confused 'dharma' with religion. The protagonists of Hindu nationalism make the difference clear. 'Dharma Rajya' in India does not mean religious or theocratic rule. 'Dharma' is law, duty, justice, truth and so on with multi-faceted implications. It is not to mean hegemonistic rule of any institutionalised religion. For the sake of analogy, when the Hindus used to exhort "Krunvanto Vishwamarya", it did not mean imperialistic aggrandisement, but it meant to enlighten the world with disinterested love unlike the White Man burden.

Even in numerical term how does Hindu come within the purview of communalism? 85% of the Indians are Hindus at common parlance. When somebody says, for example, social reform in India, it particularly means to the social reform of the Hindus. In case of Semitic religions, the initiative of reform have been coming from across the boarder except certain minor native issues.



So, beside numerical strength it also involves the question of historical background of respective religions. Therefore, it is naive to interpret Hindu phenomenon as communal and anti-secular.

In the name of composite culture theory debased dogmas have been getting promotion to be manufactured. Do the secular nationalists mean to say that Sita would be called Begum Sita or Ram would be called Mr. Ram? This kind of idea only harms the national ethos. For instance, the devotional song "Raghupati raghava raja Ram. . ." gained popularity only with Hindu mass. Articles 29 and 30 under Indian Constitution have not helped them, rather alienated them from the fundamentals of national mainstream. Consequently, they have become more obstinate, complacent, rigid and unpalatable. Moreover, secularism has taken the shape of minoritism. It is a matter of laughing stock and searching scrutiny that if an assemblage takes place at Jama Masjid it is propagated as a secular congregation, and at the same time when a similar meeting of the Hindus is organised it is branded as communal.<sup>44</sup> Secular credential has, of late, been finding refuge in minority-corridor. Sardar Patel refused to concede that it was necessary to be non-Hindu and pro-Muslim in order to earn the title of a secularist. He believed that the interests of the minorities could not be pushed to a point when they gravely prejudiced the interests of the majority or of the country.<sup>45</sup>

In the long-run, Hindu nationalism conforms the fundamentals of secularism, but finds question-mark from the sector who opts for secular nationalism. This distinction owes its genesis to the understanding of Indian nationalism itself, and which has been more diluted under the forces of recent history compounded with political compulsions.

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# 5

## **NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND HINDU NATIONALISM**

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Rationale and reasoning which guide the previous chapter may also be extended to the present. When the factor of national integration is put forth it demands the very concept of nation, its basis and allied dimensions. It rests on one's perception, and it is broadly Hindu nationalism in form and content that the present analysis proceeds.

What the Indian nation is? What is its identity? Is it a conglomerate whole created during colonial era and product of Gandhian movement(?) as commonly grasped by the contemporary secular nationalists. Then what India was in the last long epoch of five to six thousand years? It was assiduously sketched by Nandalal Bose, Shanti Niketan-based great artist, in the original Constitution of India in the form of 22 illustrations, which include Mohenjodaro period depicting the bull; Vedic period depicting the scene from the Vedic Ashrama or 'gurukul'; epic period depicting the scene of Ramayana of the conquest of Lanka and recovery of Sita by Ram; Sri Krishna propagating the Gita to Arjuna; scene from Buddha's life and Mahabir's life, Emperor Ashoka; Gupta art; Vikramaditya's court; Nalanda University; Orissan

sculpture; Nataraj; Bhagirathi's penance and descent of Ganga; Akbar and Mogal architecture; Shivaji and Guru Govind Singh; Tipu Sultan and Laxmi Bai; Gandhiji in the Dandi march and at Noakhali; Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and other patriots; Himalayas, desert and ocean. This is roughly the image of India historically and geographically. The Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court, in the case of *Vishva Hindu Adhibakta Sangh vs. State of U.P.*, 1993, held that through these illustrations the Constituent Assembly expressed itself that these are the nationally recognised phases and features of our national life, our heritage and our culture and the source of inspiration for adopting the concept of secularism. Rejecting the western concept of secularism the judges pointed out that secularism in the Hindi version of the Constitution is that as "Panth Nirapeksha" or non-sectarian and non-communal secularism.<sup>1</sup>

The secular nationalists exhort to overcome the diversities in respect of caste, creed, religion, language, culture, tradition, etc. claiming that these are narrow loyalties. But they fail to chalk out any positive means of integration. Can a man be really oblivious of his religion, language, culture, tradition or anything akin to it (?) and yet seek national integration. First, man cannot keep aside these aspects; and second, they are not antithetical to national integration. The Hindu nationalists hold just the reverse that these ingredients rather are the uniting forces of the nation, which has been perfectly exhibited in the chequered history of India. Pride of one's religion, culture, language has straight bearing with pride of one's nation. This helps in organic growth of the given community.

Real debate in the context is over "one people, one culture" *versus* cultural pluralism. But the so-called compositeness of India's culture is not really natural but the result of unscrupulous inroads made into the imminent domain of the Hindus by the semitic races.<sup>2</sup>

Tilak addressed: "The study of Gita, Ramayana and Mahabharata produces the same ideas throughout the country. Are not common allegiance to these scriptures our common heritage?"<sup>3</sup> This kind of cultural homogeneity that can bring about effective national integration. Lala lajpat Rai maintains this way : "Ram and Sita, Krishna and Arjuna are national heroes and heroines of whose magnificent deeds and righteous activities all Indians—without distinction of caste, creed, or race—might well feel proud. The Upanishads and the Darshana are in a particular manner the common heritage of all Indians.....no matter to what religion they belong now....So patriotism which is the hand-maiden of Vedicism, is lofty, inspiring, vitalising, unifying, tranquillising, soothing, bracing and exhilarating. Instead of fomenting discord it promotes love and fosters harmony."<sup>4</sup> He further opined that the vast bulk of our population belongs to one race. "The blood that flows in their veins is mostly of one and the same Aryan stock."<sup>5</sup>

Thus the basis of unification of India has always been socio-cultural and the movement of this process has been from the inside outwards, from cultural unity to political unity.<sup>6</sup> Vincent Smith, therefore, feels, "Twice in the centuries before the Mohammedan conquest the political unity of all India was nearly accomplished; first in the third century B.C. by Ashoka, and again in the fourth century A.D. by Samudragupta."<sup>7</sup> Sir Vincent Lovet presents a sound account on this : "Neither foreign conquest nor domestic dissensions have materially impaired a religious and social position which is buttressed by the sanction of ages (of Hinduism)". "In spite of the political disintegration which prevailed in India at the time of the Mohammedan inroads from Central Asia, there was a Hindu social and religious system combining external unity with internal cleavages. This remained intact during the period of Mohammedan domination, although the temptations of lower castes was there. It was, indeed, not until the establishment of British rule and the introduction of British education,



often imported by Christian missionaries, that the rooted ideas engendered by the caste system and the pessimism implanted among the lowest castes by the doctrine of 'karma' weakened in the highest degree."<sup>8</sup> Of course, this account may not be read too literally.

Tilak emphasises on language factor as the basis of national unity. But, according to him, more than any language it is Hinduism which is the unifying force of the whole of India. He pointed out that although different monarchs ruled different parts of India, there existed a sort of 'Hindu Rashtra' in the sense that there was a religious unity among the Hindus from Kashmir to Cape Camorin and from Puri to Dwarka.<sup>9</sup>

The feeling of oneness on national issues which have evolved in the annals of history are the most important points of national unity. There was fight between Mohammad Ghori and Prithviraj in 1192 A.D. Can there be a person who does not feel agonised for the debacle of Prithviraj and yet claim himself as an Indian? It is the question of identification by natural process. Similarly, while reading Indian history one must rejoice when he passes through the Gupta era, the Golden epoch in Indian history. It is the factor of one's subjective feeling or emotion in relation to the nation. No amount of manufactured dose can create this. The same kind of heart-beating must be felt with everybody when the nation is in danger. Same kind of sentiment must be displayed when the nation is to rejoice. Then only they can constitute a nation to reckon with. If Kashmir is attacked the whole nation is supposed to bleed. If an Indian sports team beats somewhere the whole nation is likely to rejoice. A dissenting voice cannot claim to be a part of nationalism. Here the question of diversity does not arise. It is not a political problem or a minor sectarian issue. Tolerance does not mean compromise with the fifth columnists. If anti-national activities are accepted as a matter of compromise then it is a sure symptom of weakness and the nation is constraint to be extinguished.

With the considered view of achieving national integration Adi Shankaracharya founded four holy places of pilgrimage in far distinct corners of India, viz., Puri, Rameshwaram, Dwarka and Badrinath covering four directions. A Hindu life is said to be fulfilled when he visits all these four shrines. Other such shrines which he aspires are twelve temples of Sungod, twelve temples of Ganesh, eighteen Jyotirlingas, fifty-one Shakti pithas and innumerable temples of Vishnu and his incarnations, Ram and Krishna scattered all over the country.<sup>10</sup> Three principal recognised temples of Sungod lie in east, north and west; Konark (in Orissa), Multan (Brahmaputra, Assam) and Surya Pura or Surat (Gujarat). There are also, similarly, distinguished eight Ganesh temples, viz., Moresvara, Ballava, Levadri, Siddhatek, Ojhar, Sthevara or Meura, Ranjanagrama and Mahada.<sup>11</sup> Buddhism, which is a part of Hinduism, has also different pilgrimages scattered all over India.<sup>12</sup>

Fifty-one 'Pithasthanas' as given in the text called 'Pithanirnaya' represents different parts of body as such—Hingula (in Beluchistan)—the 'crown'; Karaviya—the eyes; Kashmir—neck; Jwalamukhi—the tongue; Jalandhara—the breast—Vaidhyanath (Bihar)—the heart; Jayadurga (Nepal)—the knee, Manasa—right hand; Virajaksetra (Utkala)—the navel; Gandogi—the cheek, Bahula—the left arm; Ujjayini—the elbow; chattal (Chittagong)—right arm; Tripura—the right foot; Trigrota (north Bihar)—the left foot, Kamakhya (Kamrupa)—the female sex organ; Khiragrama (West Bengal)—the thumb of the right leg; Kalipitha (Kalighat)—fingers of the right foot; Jayanti (Sylhet)—the left thigh; Kanyashrama—the hinder part (back); Kurukshetra—the ankle; Srisaila (Sylet)—the neck; Kanchi—the skeleton; Devagarbha—the hip; Narmada—the part of the hip; Ramagiri—the other breast—Vrindavana—the locks of hair; Anala—the upper teeth; Karaotoya (north Bengal)—the left ear; Sriparvata—the right ear; Vibhasa (West Bengal)—left belly; Janasthana—chin; Uma (Mithila)—left shoulder.<sup>13</sup> What all these reflect is India's organic unity in religio-cultural



form. This also underlies the fact that Hindu temples are not self-sufficient in a certain state. They are scattered all over India and a devout Hindu is not satisfied by visiting merely the temples in his own state.<sup>14</sup>

The Hindu tradition obviously keeps the spirit of Indian national integration. Its morning hymn chants "Ayodhya, Mathura, Maya, Kashi, Kanchi, Avantika...." It incorporates all the major rivers of India as holy. "May the Ganges, the Jamuna, the Saraswati, the Narmada, the Indus and the Kaveri, enter into this water"—has become the national life since the earliest time. It has become a sacrament and symbol of Hindu society, "the swarthy bather standing knee-deep in a dirty pool and bathing himself with its muddy waters, repeats this verse, and is conscious that it is the same water in which millions and millions of his brothers and sisters are bathing in different parts of India, and the consciousness helps him to remember his kinship with them and release the unity of his nation."<sup>15</sup> Every Hindu who performs his 'sandhya' has to repeat a verse in the 'sankalpa' in which he picturises the country as a whole.<sup>16</sup>

Certain festivals, seers, mountains, legends—all taken together form the source of inspiration of common 'we'. Everyone of them is connected with so many important incidents that, simply by reminding them the entire history of Indian nation passess before the mental eye like a film.<sup>17</sup> The Hindus consider the Mother India—the Ancient Mother, who has been unifying for the last tens of centuries. Hindu tradition had been found even if there had been different kingdoms all over the country.<sup>18</sup> "Unless this tendency amongst the Hindus (is encouraged)", warns a Hindu zealot in 1940, "... (and) is supposed with all our forces there may arise the gravest danger far more great than the Pakisthan danger to our Holy land."<sup>19</sup>

Sir Herbert Risley, "the great divider", had also conceded that "the supremacy of Hinduism as the



characteristic religion of India is not as yet seriously threatened". "The Animistic hem of the garment may, indeed, be rent off, and its fragments be parted among rival faiths. But the garment itself woven of many threads and glowing with various colours will remain intact and continue to satisfy the craving for spiritual raiment of a loose and elastic texture which possesses the Indian mind."<sup>20</sup> Premier Ramsay Macdonald expressed the same idea—"The Hindu regards India as the temple—nay, even regards India as the goddess mother—of his spiritual culture. India and Hinduism are organically related as body and soul. He made India the symbol of his culture, he filled it with his soul greater self, whosoever may hold the political sovereignty."<sup>21</sup>

While assessing the Hinduness of Indian nationhood, it is awefully needed to have a look on the periphery, i.e., the so-called non-Hindu side, particularly Muslim so much so that it is projected as if Indian nationalism rests on Hindu-Muslim cordiality. Hindu problem corresponds both within and without. Well, virtual abstention of the Mohammedans from the freedom movement was largely due to the influence of Sir Syed Ahmed,<sup>22</sup> the founder of Aligarh school of thought. Even he ridiculed those who participated in the 1857 mutiny and rather praised Christianity.<sup>23</sup> Bamfylde Fuller, Lieutenant Governor of East Bengal during early twentieth century, openly said that the British Government looked upon the Muslim community as its favourite wife.<sup>24</sup> It led Mahatma Gandhi to comment : "This allegation is correct that Muslims are not taking interest in the national movement, because they are not thinking India as their home, for which they should be proud of. I understand that they think themselves as the descendants of the invaders."<sup>25</sup> It is on record that there was complete 'hartal' (strike) in the city of Delhi on 9 August 1942 in the Hindu localities<sup>26</sup> (the meaning is understood).

Field Marshal Cariappa's experience deserves serious consideration. He writes, "We are a secular country. I

regard Muslims as much my brothers and sisters as do people of all other communities of India. I meet a wide cross-section of them during my frequent travels in the country....In those talks some have given me, much to my sadness, the impression of their having feet in —two boats'—India and Pakisthan. Their loyalty seems to be primarily in Pakisthan....This is also the impression of a large percentage of non-Muslim intellectuals of India."<sup>27</sup>

Lord Meston also probes that "the Pan-Islamism has faded like all other dreams to a higher allegiance outside India, and at the present moment they are busy with schemes for improving the separatist position which the Simon Commission has found itself compelled to allow them, reconciling themselves to citizenship of India, but on their terms and not in accordance with the ordinary tenets of democratic equality."<sup>28</sup>

Let us see the perception of Syed Amir Ali, the greatest Muslim intellectual of nineteenth century, who glorifies Islamic culture over Indian. He believes that the glorious achievement of Islam has taken place outside India, and it is with these accomplishments and these Muslims that he identifies himself.<sup>29</sup> He considers the period of ancient India as a barbaric period. Being born and brought up in Bengal he never bothered to learn Bangla. American Professor Leonard Gordon has made a beautiful contradiction of Amir Ali against R.C. Dutt, who were contemporaries in the then Bengal and were at the zenith of their respective profession and public life.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's contact with the Arab and Turk revolutionaries confirmed him how Indian Muslims should behave. They expressed their surprise that Muslims were either indifferent to or against nationalist demands. They were of the view that Indian Muslims should have led the national struggle for freedom, and could not understand why Indian Muslims were camp followers of the British.<sup>30</sup> This kind of alienation swept the entire panorama of independence struggle. Like the



situation of early twenties, late forties also witnessed veritable communal feud spearheaded by the Muslims. Subhas Chandra Bose wrote to Lord Linlithgow in December 1940, "....But today a wave of communalism is spreading over Hindu Bengal, as an inevitable reaction to Muslim communalism."<sup>31</sup> That is why Dr. B.R. Ambedkar ventured to suggest that if Kashmir had to be merged in India, first of all, the Muslims living there should be absorbed in the Hindu society.<sup>32</sup> On the ground of nationality he abhorred his fellowmen to join Islam or Christianity when he declared to prosylitise and preferred to join Buddhism, the Indian origin religion conforming Indian culture.

Let us see the case of the 'Sheikh' and 'Syed' titles in India. They are certain clans in Arabia. Titles used by some rulers and officials in Central Asia, Afganistan etc. (in olden times) and the titles used by supreme rulers of Turkish, Tartar, and Mongol tribes are the genesis of 'Khan'.<sup>33</sup> People having these titles obviously feel that they are their descendants.<sup>34</sup> Thus, Mohammedan, differing radically in his religious views and tracing with pride his ancestry back to the great Arab and Mogul conquerors, is not likely ever to claim kinship with the "pacific Hindu."<sup>35</sup>

One author has reason to believe that the present leadership of the Muslim community, local as well as national, has striven to maintain and emphasise the distinctions of the Muslim community and to seek to unify it politically by establishing common goals for Muslims that differ from the rest of the society.<sup>36</sup> He probes that there are chiefly three symbols around which the Hindu Muslim hostility is expressed. They are cow slaughter, the Urdu-Hindi language, and Islamic dogmatism.<sup>37</sup>

Devout Muslims focus their spiritual attention outside India, towards Arabia and the holy city of Mecca, which they symbolically face five times a day during



prayers. For Hindus, one's spiritual life is India-centered, with the Ganges Rivers and Himalayan mountains held as sacred.<sup>38</sup>

Muslim sense of alienation is a great negative factor in Indian nationalism. It is a matter of serious concern when Abdulla Bukhari of Jama Masjid states that the invading Muslims from Central Asia civilised the Hindus of India.<sup>39</sup> And so long as the psyche of Bukhari or Amir Ali are reflected among the Indian Muslims no amount of nationalist psyche of the Hindus would help in the process of assimilation.

It is historical fact that the Indian Muslims were mere converts at some period or other.<sup>40</sup> Every Muslim will have a Hindu name if he goes back far enough in his family history. Every Muslim is merely a Hindu who has accepted Islam.<sup>41</sup> One claims that the forefathers of 99.9% Indian Muslims adhered to "the original 'dharma' of this land."<sup>42</sup> Hence like the Indonesian Muslims, ancestors of the present day Indian Muslims are the same as the Hindus. Ram and Krishna would be equally treated by them as their ancestors; and therefore, Ram and Krishna may be the effective unifying factors of Indian nationalism. This is a national concern and not a religious question in rigid conceptual and technical sense. Sir Syed Ahmed had humbly unveiled, ironically: "Hindu and Mohammedan brethren, do you people have any country other than Hindusthan? Do you not inhabit on the same land? Are you not borned and buried on the same land? Do you not tread the same ground and live upon the same soil? Remember that the word Hindu and Mohammedan are only meant for religious distinction—otherwise all persons, whether Hindu or Mohammedan, even the Christians who reside in this country, are all in one and the same nation. Then all these different sects can only be described as one nation; they must each and all unite for the good of the country which is common to the extent he evokes patriotism. Balasaheb Deoras, late RSS chief, similarly expressed in

1977 that "we have accepted in principle that in spite of separate modes of worship all of us are Indian nationals."<sup>43</sup>

When a people in any country develop a feeling of respect for its ancestors and have no particular love for the motherland, the culture of the land, brave deeds of their forefathers, then they naturally begin to cultivate anti-national feeling.<sup>44</sup> The realisation of who we are, who are ours and who not ours, is conducive to national feeling.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, Vivekananda felt that those Hindus who had become Muslims should return back to their old fold. It was not that a member in Hindu society became less, he maintained, when somebody becomes a Muslim; but one anti-national is created by that.<sup>46</sup>

It is relevant to recall Dr. B.R. Ambedkar when he decided to leave Hinduism. He felt constraint that his 'Dalit' mates must embrace some religion. But he did not like to convert to a religion which had no foundation in India, and thus decided to accept Buddhism. In his words, "Buddhist religion is an integral part of Indian culture itself. I have taken all care to see that this conversion does not harm this country's culture, history and tradition."<sup>47</sup> "It is necessary to consider the repercussion on the nation due to a change of religion by the untouchables. If they embrace Islam or Christianity, they will become anti-nationals. If they will become Muslims, Muslim population will double and so Muslim influence will increase. In case they become Christian, Christian population will become 5 to 6 crore and the British stronghold on this country will be higher still (during the British rule). But if they become Bauddha, the future of India will not be endangered and they will not be anti-national. Hence if at all untouchables must change religion, they may become Bauddha."<sup>48</sup> This reflects the determinant of Indian nationalism.

It is a very straight question as to who demanded dismemberment of this country in forties? Hindus or Muslims? It is obviously the Muslims.<sup>49</sup> Exceptions are



there. But in term of community they expressed their solidarity behind the Muslim League which was spearheading the cause of Partition. The League clamoured for Muslims having a distinct culture, religion, point of honour and seer,<sup>50</sup> and hence a separate nation. In the election for the Constituent Assembly held in July 1946, the Muslim League secured 73 seats out of 77 reserved seats for the Muslims.<sup>51</sup>

It is interesting to recall a reminiscence of Prof. Balraj Madhok. He visited Kabul in 1964 when he came across the mouseleum of Babar who died in 1530. Looking the dilapidated condition of it he queried the caretaker for the same. The latter promptly replied: "Damned foreigner. Why should we maintain his tomb?" So can one conjecture how Indian Muslims should react over the Ayodhya issue?<sup>52</sup>

Tolerance must not be taken for granted. It is a matter of reciprocity. Tolerance of intolerance often appears as a mark of cowardice. Tolerance must contain itself within the national boundary objectively. John Locke, the apologist of Glorious Revolution may be referred, who stood for religious toleration but certainly not to the Roman Catholics.<sup>53</sup> Even in the United States non-Americans are required to be assimilated into Anglo-Saxon culture.<sup>54</sup>

The spirit of toleration in India is very much in sight since the Rig Vedic times.<sup>55</sup> To Golwalkar, Hindu state cannot but be secular, and Hindu culture did not have communalist angularity at all.<sup>56</sup> Even Charvak, a gross materialist, who ridiculed Vedas, was allowed to deliver his sermons from temple platforms.<sup>57</sup> The tradition of equal respect to all religions owes its origin to Hinduness's polytheistic character and the absence of doctrinal rigidity.<sup>58</sup> India has accepted all varieties of beliefs and doctrines and treated them as authentic expressions of the spiritual endeavour. India has welcomed with open arms fugitives from distinct lands.



The Parsees expelled from Persia by the Muslim invaders, found a welcome shelter in India. The Jews persecuted in other lands through centuries, found a safe heaven in India. St. Thomas brought the Christian faith from Syria to South India and over a thousand years, this remained the only Christian centre in Asia. In the sixteenth century, St. Francis Xavier introduced Latin Christianity. The only exception is that Akbar honoured highly the Jain teacher Hira Vijay; gave grants to temples and mosques. The secular credential of Indian Constitution is an explicit affirmation of the rigidity of all Semitic faiths.<sup>59</sup> To the contrary, in the context of the national movement, the character of Hinduism and its historical traditions reinforced secular thinking.<sup>60</sup>

It was in fact the advent of Islam which ensued communal discord. Muslim rule in India broke the tradition of religious toleration when the rulers indulged in forcible conversions and in destruction of Hindu shrines.<sup>61</sup> Syed Abdul Hasan Naqvi, the author of "Islam and the World" concedes, "Islam divides the whole of humanity into two categories. One of them comprises persons who serve God and worship Truth and the other consists of persons who are the followers of Satan himself. Islam proclaims war against this second category of persons, to whatever country or race they belong."<sup>62</sup> They call it 'jihad' or Holy War. This very concept of —'Darul Harab' (vicious land) and 'Darul Islam' (virtuous land) embedded in Islamic tradition which creates chasm in human society. "...Not only was slaughter of the infidels ('kafers') and the destruction of their temples resorted to in earlier period of Islam's contact with India, but as we have seen, many of vanquished were led to slavery. The dividing up of booty was one of the special attractions, to the leaders as well as to the common soldiers in these expeditions. Mohammed seems to have made the slaughter of infidels, the destruction of their temples, the capturing of slaves, and the plundering of the wealth of the people, particularly of the temples and the priests, the main object of his raids. On the occasion of his first raid he

is said to have taken much booty; it had been accepted as a fundamental part of Muslim government policy in India for a period of more than eight centuries.<sup>63</sup>

The first and foremost reason for communalism in India was the tendency of the Muslim masses to keep themselves aloof from the majority community and isolate themselves from the secular nationalistic politics of India.<sup>64</sup> It is on record that 'Jamiat-e-Islami' advised the Muslims not to take part in the First General Election under the Constitution of Independent India, on the ground that the election would not establish Islamic state.<sup>65</sup> In 1973-74, an organisation of the Muslims of Uttar Pradesh came into existence after the name "Muslim Majlis" and began to preach the cult of separation of Muslims from the Hindus.<sup>66</sup> Further, one Muslim League leader Ebrahim Suleman Salt demanded in 1973 that Article 44 of the Indian Constitution calling for a uniform Civil Code could not be applied to the Muslim Personal Law.<sup>67</sup> K.R. Malkani recalls that when 'Diwali' (Festival of Light) was celebrated in Sindh, even mosques were illuminated with earthen lamps. These days, he continues, if a little colour is splashed on a mosque during 'Holi' (Festival of Colour), there are angry reactions.<sup>68</sup>

While communal diversities served the interests of foreign masters upto 1947, these continued to be fully exploited by the indigenous leadership in the post-independence period.<sup>69</sup> Naziruddin Ahmed criticised the Hindu Code Bill that it was only for some of the communities and, as such was a case of discrimination, which was against the spirit of the Constitution.<sup>70</sup> Ambedkar also found it discriminatory, because it prescribed monogamy for Hindus only,<sup>71</sup> and on this ground he resigned from the Nehru Cabinet. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee satirically stated once: "You dare not touch Muslim community....But of course you can proceed with the Hindu community in any way you like and whatever consequence may be."<sup>72</sup>



The very objective of this analysis is to unearth the underlying tendency of the minority communities, particularly the Muslims towards Indian nationalism. It needs to articulate reconciliation of alien inclination from religious stand-point and indigenous national cultural tradition. But instead of diagnosing the disease and making effort for intellectual and emotional assimilation, erratic approach is being unabatedly pursued. If genuine secular principle is employed in right earnest it would be a boon for nation-building. But compulsion in electoral politics has torpedoed the entire scheme and led to harbour mere populist measures. India exists for nurturing its inherent genius—its substratum—an end in itself. India stands beyond the diverse communities. This is the singular logic of the Hindu nationalists.

Inaugurating Deendayal Research Institute in New Delhi in 1972 Golwalkar stated: "My feeling is that nature abhors excessive uniformity....we have tested way of life and our experience is that variety and unity can and do, go together—I have no quarrel with any class, community or sect that wanted to maintain its identity."<sup>73</sup> While different denominations might maintain their individuality, it must not clash with broader vision of patriotism. It is because of this attitude of the Hindu mind that a handful of Jews, taking shelter in this country centuries back, never felt threatened about losing their identity.

Pseudo-secularism has corrupted our nationalism and eaten into the vitals of the Indian nation, observed Prof. Javed Alam. "It is pseudo because of the appeasement of the minorities and especially so as it is based on the systematic pampering of the Muslims."<sup>74</sup> The Bharatiya Janata Party, on the other hand, clamours for positive secularism. L.K. Advani clarified the expression precisely, which signifies justice for all, and appeasement of none. He cited the instance of Italy to justify his idea on 'Hindu Rashtra', which is a Catholic state, but it is liberal to other religions.<sup>75</sup> Even in Great Britain, the Crown is the principal Defender of Faith (i.e., Protestant



Christianity) without undermining its secular credential. Same is the case with the Indian cultural tradition, which has been the amalgam of varied sub-cultures, which is interwoven by a strong and the reviving thread of geographical, historical, economic, ethical and ecological values. It is a matter of irony that certain sections yet find hardship in such a resilient society. Humayun Kabir quotes K. William Kaap : "It is this capacity of adjusting and combining seemingly disparate creeds and contradictory systems of belief which more than any other factor accounts for the unique vitality and longevity of Hindu culture: due to its ability to accommodate dissimilar elements and to give them a complexity and diversity which is probably unequalled in the history of mankind."<sup>76</sup> To the contrary, there are no Islamic countries which are truly democratic. In most Islamic countries moderate leadership is being pushed out by fundamentalists. It is very well in sight in Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Muslim countries of CIC, Saudi Arabia and the like.<sup>77</sup>

"This is my motherland"—should be the basis when emphasis is laid on Hindu-Muslim fraternity. It means common motherhood should be espoused above all other considerations. It is painstaking to notice that two Islamic schools filed case in Gujarat High Court challenging the State Government's direction to sing 'Vande Mataram' stating that they are devote Muslims and praying to the motherland was against the tenet of Islam.<sup>78</sup> How can one be hesitant of saluting the motherland and yet claim to be national with absolute rights? It is not a matter of trade deal. Basically one must be proud of his nation and feel ashamed of its decadence. If the Pakistanis could claim Panini as one of their great forefathers, why should not the local Muslims call Vyas, Balmiki and others as their ancestors?<sup>79</sup> It is noteworthy that Mr. Weelam, archaeological advisor of Pakistan wrote a booklet called "5000 Years of Pakistan". It describes the greatness of pre-Pakistan and pre-Islamic life, its culture is praised and it has lauded Panini.<sup>80</sup> "If the stream of

this culture's glory starts flowing again, the Muslim community will find it easier to identify with it and unity can be forged again".

Hinduism is benefited at this point in having potentiality to cultivate national integration in India by virtue of its latent Indianness. Origin and growth of Hinduism synchronises with that of India. Entire history, culture, geography of India is embedded in Hindu scriptures, life style and manifestations in multiple angles. Hinduism cannot be alienated from the fundamentals of India and *vice versa*. India is veritable home of Hinduism. Both are convertible terms. The Hindus regard this land as 'Tapobhumi' (Holy Land) and 'Debabhoomi' (Divine Land)—land of their gods and goddesses. They have nothing but India for their salvation. They worship India's every bit from the very core of their heart. Consequently there is resolute identification of 'swadharma' and 'swadesh' (Religion and Land). To call them communal and place them at par with those people, observes Golwalkar, whose loyalties are divided and at times questionable is unjust and unwise."<sup>81</sup>

Tilak in his address to 'Bharat Dharma Mahamandal' succinctly held: "The common factor in Indian society is the feeling of 'Hindutva'.....We say that the Hindus of the Punjab, Bengal, Maharashtra, Telengana, and Dravida are one and the reason for this is only Hindu 'dharma'."<sup>82</sup> Achut Menon, former Chief Minister of Kerala, felt convinced that the essence of our national unity lies in Hinduness."<sup>83</sup>

All those who view Indian nation as full of diversities should know that it is by assimilating all the different ethos that the integrated Indian society grew up. A Sanskrit verse reads : "May our motherland who protects us, speaks of various languages and possesses various qualities, live like one family under one roof, shower upon us thousands of streams of wealth like a cow who weilds unrestricted flow of milk". "It is as if Almighty God



had meant this as a laboratory to show to the world the great truth of unity, in diversity and the seers and philosophers here had carried out the experiment."<sup>84</sup> Arnold Toynbee hastened to believe that unity in diversity is a unique feature emerging out of Hindu culture stands as a beacon before the world.<sup>85</sup>

Lord Meston puts forth forcefully : "Amid all chaos and conflict of India's history, Hinduism has been the constant force in the country's life and cultural vicissitude. Its power has lain, not in political organisation, nor even in religious organisation, but in building men's daily lives and giving them a standard authority which is independent of temporal changes."<sup>86</sup> Historian K.M. Panickar is convinced that Indian history is predominantly the history of Hindu people - "What is distinctly Indian has been Hindu."<sup>87</sup> Golwalkar argues that the over-arching cultural framework of India remains uniformly Hindu, centuries of pressures of debased civilisations of the Muslims and the Europeans notwithstanding.<sup>88</sup>

To recall Vincent Smith again, "....India offers unity in diversity. The underlying unity being less obvious than the superficial divinity, its nature and limitations merit exposition (in spite of several kingdoms and so on)."<sup>89</sup> "The most fundamental unity in India lies with Hinduism....Few deny the authority of the Vedas and the other ancient scriptures. Sanskrit everywhere is the sacred language. The great gods, Vishnu and Shiva, are recognised and more or less worshipped in all parts of India. The pious pilgrim, when going round of the holy places, is equally at home among the snows of Badrinath or on the burning of sands of Ram's Bridge. The seven sacred cities include places in the far south as well as north of Hindusthan. Similarly, the cult of rivers is common to all Hindus, and all alike share in the affection felt for the talks of the Mahabharata and Ramayana."<sup>90</sup>

"India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying



fundamental unity far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners and sect."<sup>91</sup> There is no paradox at all.<sup>92</sup> "Nevertheless, when all allowances are made for the limitations, the fundamental unity of Hindu culture alone makes a general history of India feasible."<sup>93</sup> C.R. Das's observation supplements it, according to whom, "We cannot forget that the different nationalities of India, although there are differences between them.....yet spiritually and historically they are bound up as so many links in the chain of one living national individuality."<sup>94</sup> L.F. Rushbrook Williams' contention is the same. He believes that it would be no exaggeration to say that the civilisation of India provides the common basis which gives the whole country a fundamental unity.<sup>95</sup>

Field Marshall K.M. Cariappa stated at the inaugural function of Visva Hindu Parishad at Udupi (Karnataka) in 1969 that Hindu Dharma is the basis of national upliftment. He felt it regrettable that Hindu Dharma with profound catholicity of spirit is not acceptable as our "Rashtra Dharma."<sup>96</sup>

Self-determination became a common expression following World War I in order to determine nationhood. But it implies some sentiment and Hinduism fulfils this pre-requisite, too, in the context of Indian nationalism. It claims "to be a system of life and thought which dominates the minds of the great majority of Indians today; and on the strength of this claim it launched the movement which it describes as Nationalism.....Thus have the unseen ranks of our nationalistic world open for the reception of Hindu India."<sup>97</sup> So Hindu nationalism is something altogether different from other types of nationalism. The reason is simple, that "the Hindu civilisation, which is the basis of Hindu nationalism, is different from any other living civilisation."<sup>98</sup>

Though it tastes bitter it is nothing but natural for the aforementioned backdrop that people belonging to Semitic religions are constraint to lack the same intensity of attachment towards Indian nation. While worshipping inner strength of the former must travel beyond Indian territory. Their gods, legends, holy songs, scriptures all lie elsewhere. A Muslim naturally feels Mecca as sacred or a Christian feels Rome as sacred as a Hindu feels Banaras. Empirically "an Indian Muslim may be and often is, far more in sympathy with an Arabic or Persian fellow-believer than he is with his Hindu neighbour."<sup>99</sup> It can be more clear if Subhas Chandra Bose's plan is measured. He was struck by the fact that believers in Christianity and Islam had built empires and converted large numbers to their faiths, and he advised a plan for spreading Hinduism to Africa as one part of making a great nation once again.<sup>100</sup>

National integration is a matter of commitment. It rests on the very attitude of its supposed nationals. It depends common emotion. Tolerance needs mutual appreciation and adherence to certain ethos. Shivaji scolded a lieutenant who presented before him a married Muslim lady, who had kidnapped her with the intention that he would satisfy the king. But Shivaji got terribly annoyed and asked to help her return with all dignity. Dayananda asked a Muslim stranger who sought his shelter for the night, to sleep inside his room. Hindu scholars 'par excellence' with sublime humanistic vision and world view have exhibited profound restraint while dealing with the counterparts. It is also experienced from the other side to a certain extent. Jahangir used to light his palace in 'Diwali' and play colour in 'holi'. Akbar used to identify himself with the native tradition. It is recorded in history that under the resurgence of Shivaji, one of his army officers was a Ranadulla Khan. Later on, on the battle field of Panipat in 1761, in that life-death struggle for the rising 'Hindu Swaraj', the key position of the Artillery Chief was held by one Ibrahim Gardi.<sup>101</sup>



Justice Mohammad Karim Chagla concludes, "We are all Hindus although we may practise different religions....It is the distinction between Hindus and non-Hindus that has created all the trouble in this country and has led to the partition of our motherland....If the distinction were to go then there will be no conflict between Hindus and non-Hindus."<sup>102</sup>

In its entirety, Hindu nationalism has been genetically possessed of underlying basis of natural integration in India in a crystallised form. Its distortion would lead to dismemberment of India. Substance of secularism under true Indian version is commendable, under which fundamental structure of the nation does not get setback. Atal Bihari Vajpayee warns that fissiparous tendencies cannot be encouraged in the name of secularism.<sup>103</sup> Whole cannot be subordinated to the part, observes "Indian Express" editorial in the context of cow slaughter problem in Delhi.<sup>104</sup> It is really disgusting to Indian nationalism that entire twentieth century has been devoted to special minority safeguard in the name of national unity, which virtually proved to be detrimental to national interest. Provision of separate electorate really creates a psychology of separation. In 1943, the then Secretary of State, L.A.S. Amery, invited some Parsee representatives and suggested to them that they should ask for separate representation in various legislatures. The suggestion was spurned by a representation signed by around 2000 leading Parsees affirming that their interests were safe in the hands of sister communities. R.K. Sidhwa, a Parsee member of the Constituent Assembly said that if minorities were encouraged to think in terms of permanent minority safeguards, there would be a kind of perpetual instinct in the mind of the community representatives that the safeguards were to remain for ever, and it would be difficult for those small communities to come nearer to major communities. He emphatically expressed that the ultimate phase of political life of all Indians should be one nation, no minority.<sup>105</sup>



However, Prof. Basiruddin Ahmed casts aspersions that assimilation involves the abandonment by ethnic minorities whether based on race, religion, language or caste, of their own social mores and cultural identity in favour of the value system, the life style and the ethos of the dominant group.<sup>106</sup> But this is neither undesirable nor there is any alternative. This happens all over the world as a matter of natural corollary; rather Hindu nationalism displays more catholicity. If it is inconvenient to the religious minorities it is necessary inconvenience. The United Nations Human Rights Commission Special Committee on Protection of Minority Rights in 1946 resolved that the minorities must be loyal to the state of which they are nationals.<sup>107</sup> The very idea of minoritism really cropped up in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe when new frontiers were created; and Indian problem of religio-cultural complexion has hardly any parity with it.

Unfortunately prevailing secularism of the country has become a dream of the minority which wishes to shape the majority in its own image, which wants to impose its will upon history "but lacks the power to do so under a democratically organised polity."<sup>108</sup> To one critic, it may not be an exaggeration to conclude that communalism in India is that of minorities.<sup>109</sup> A gathering of Muslim intellectuals in New Delhi were constrained to blame the traditional leadership *vis-a-vis* Pakistan responsible for fomenting communal frenzy. They recalled the redefined attitude of the community in post-independence India, and merge with the national mainstream.<sup>110</sup>

Assailing majority-minority terminologies Muzaffar Hussain observes that there would not be such phenomena under the conceptual framework of Hindu nationalism. In no society majority-minority divide is determined exclusively on religious basis. The term minority was really buttressed by the League of Nations to face its own oddities pertaining to nationalities under

extenuating circumstance. But the Indian Muslims, Christians and Jews in India are not ethnically different from the Hindus. They belong to the same Hindu stock that has come down from the Aryans. They could very well emulate the Indonesians to whom method of worship does not give rise to majority-minority divide.<sup>111</sup>

It deserves attention that the Buddhists of China and South-East Asia know that their Lord was born in India, but never sought to glorify or emancipate India; they are exclusively concerned with the national problems of the country in which they live. But this is not a case with the Indian Muslims.<sup>112</sup> Rather they display sympathy "for their co-religionists living in Turkey, Iran, etc., whereas Hindu leaders draw inspiration from ancient past of India."<sup>113</sup> Jamnadas Dwarkadas, a veteran freedom fighter,<sup>114</sup> S.E. Hussain<sup>115</sup> and B.R. Ambedkar<sup>116</sup> also shared opinion from this angle. Factually the Muslims consider themselves as the nationals of the world-wide confederacy of Islam.<sup>117</sup> This has become an established experience right from the days of Khilafat Movement—a Pan—Islamic Movement which was least concerned with Indian national struggle.

Tilak had rightly written on the occasion of Shivaji festival that a mere aggregation of people residing in one country cannot be held together by such bonds as a common language, a common religion and a common history before the term can be appropriately applied to them.<sup>118</sup> It needs a common sentiment. Therefore, the unity of the Hindus is to be the basis of the unity of the Indian nation.<sup>119</sup> But we wore pseudo-secularism, the inevitable product of the foreign concept of nationalism, into our constitutional fabric. In an interview Atal Bihari Vajpayee expressed apprehension that the feeling of nationalism is lacking and this is responsible for the various problems facing the country. During the last five decades governments have failed to create love for the nation in the minds of the masses.<sup>120</sup> Prof. Sankhdher suggests that propagation of 'Rashtravad' all over the



country would reflect the people's desire and resolve to build up the most modern and scientific edifice on the 'Shastra' (scripture) foundation.<sup>121</sup>

But the question is how to inculcate that spirit of nationalism. There must be some vision and direction. "Organiser" contained a writing which reads that the Hindu wants to feel proud of his religion and of his heritage. But it regrets that he gets no support from the Anglicised, educated, so-called 'elite' which is almost ashamed of Hinduism. The trouble is that elite is 'modern' but without having roots in their religion which they have forsaken. Those who have their roots are not 'modern' in the accepted sense of the term. The elite we have is alien to the true spirit which is, believe it or not, secular. In post-independence India, the absence of effective leadership among the Muslims, the apathy and cowardice of the non-political Muslim elite to develop a secular and powerful movement against communalism and obscurantism, and the failure of 'secular parties' to rise above electoral considerations pampered the integration of Muslims into the national main-stream.<sup>122</sup>

Hamid Enayat, an author on modern Islamic political thought, holds : "The Arabs cannot promote their identity without exalting Islam, which is the most abiding source of their pride, and the most potent stimulant of that identity down the ages; conversely the fact that Islam was first revealed at the Arabs, and in their language, emboldens some Arab nationalists to try to pre-empt Islam as a primordially Arab religion. So Arab writers try....to prove that there is no contradiction between Islam and Arab nationalism."<sup>123</sup> The Indian Muslims should take a leaf from it and have an appraisal on their identity crisis. But in 1973-74, an organisation of Muslims of Uttar Pradesh came into existence by the name "Muslim Majlis" and began to preach the cult of separation of Muslims from the Hindus.<sup>124</sup>

Again, Indian Muslims are apparently more rigid



than their counterparts in Islamic countries on matters of social reform, which stands as a stumbling block in the way of national integration. The Bombay High Court under the Chief Justiceship of M.C. Chagla had once rejected the challenge of Prevention of Bigamous Marriage Act on the ground of social reform. It has nothing to do with religion, and the problem must be discussed on the basis of reason. Even Muslim countries have been amending Muslim Law. Field Marshall Ayub Khan's "Family Laws Ordinance" made polygamy and instant 'talaq' (divorce) illegal in Pakistan.<sup>125</sup> But this kind of laws are hardly to be materialised in India as experienced during Shah Bano case in 1985. More instructive is the fact that the three main speakers in the Constituent Assembly on uniform civil code, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, K.M. Munshi and B.R. Ambedkar, made their fervent plea for it is not in term of social justice and women's right, but in terms of national unity under the assumption that a uniform civil code was a must for India's nationhood.<sup>126</sup>

An analyst befittingly makes the following observation on India's post-independence political mismanagement compromising national integration: "....Gandhiji had initiated the process by harnessing passivity to a 'satyagraha' against colonialism which literally guilt-tripped the British into leaving India. Unfortunately the transfer of power was not accomplished by a corresponding social resurgence and Jawaharlal Nehru's socialistic thrust merely succeeded in transforming a set of modern values on a people still burdened by mental servitude....What is pejoratively labelled pseudo-secularism was not merely minority appeasement. That is only a small aspect of the perversion. The central thrust of the Nehruvian consensus lay in consciously dissolving Hindu pride. It purposefully prevented Hindu society from overcoming the burden of centuries of subordination. India's post-independence development was fluid because cultural nationalism was kept out of the purview of nationhood, and Hindu

renaissance detached from the political agenda."<sup>127</sup>

However, an important point that merits attention here is that Muslim ought not to be permanently stigmatised for their past mistakes, lest which would make them more obstinate. The collective perception of a community largely sunk in the abyss of stark poverty and ignorance and dominated by the religious fundamentalists could not have been very much different from what it was and what alas, it largely continues to be today.<sup>128</sup> Some Muslim scholars and poets like Rahim, Khanan Raskhan and Malik Mohammed Saysi were perfectly Indian—as Taj sang in Hindi : "O Krishna I am enamoured of you. Even though I am a Turk I will live as a Hindu."<sup>129</sup> This kind of attitude brought them closer to the national mainstream. It is the very kernel of collectiveness which sustains nationalism. But, to the contrary, case study reveals the fact that most of the riots in the name of 'jihad' were started by the Muslim communalists in the post-independence period.<sup>130</sup> These problems are to be probed at right earnest to ensure national integration. To recall Deendayal's resolute expression, "We shall not rest till we are able to give everyone a sense of pride that they are children of 'Bharat Mata'. We shall make her 'sujala', 'sufala'."<sup>131</sup>

One critic enlists the problems of nationalism as immigration, racialism, national minoritism and communalism.<sup>132</sup> However, Hindu nationalism supplants all these fissiparous tendencies and paves the way for national integration. In the words of Rabindranath, there is "unity of spirit in Indian nationalism."<sup>133</sup> and the underlying signification of this nationalism is obviously Hindu nationalism under strict scrutiny. So, let national integration be a matter of commitment, not a populist slogan.

There are two dimensions of the foregoing analysis, viz., one positive, and the other negative. Hinduness has been demonstrated as the basis of national integration.



Negatively, the so-called non-Hindu attitude has been analysed in order to make a comparative study, and to get rid of the aberrations making deep inroad into the vitality of Indian nationalism. In fact, it is not a novel approach. The same kind of nationalist testimony is being employed all over the world. But it finds hard nut to crack on the face of dreaded pseudo-secularism pursued by the vested political activists who are very much afraid of identifying themselves as Hindus—may be for their inferiority complex systematically injected into them by denationalised study of colonial infra-structure. Infact, they do suffer from identity crisis, and vainly camouflage themselves under the coat of pseudo-modernism. They opt for this lopsided dubious approach, beside other reasons, to address their potent constituency. Indian nation has been braving this complication since at least a century involving its innate identity, and hence urgency of the present debate is felt imperative.

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# 6

## APPRAISAL

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Critics dub nationalism and, more so, Hindu nationalism, some of which have been mentioned earlier. Yet, to enlist certain representative remarks, eyes fish on Prof. S. Gopal, who maintains, "Hindu chauvinism is an unsurprising counter to the Islamic fundamentalism that is spreading in India and various other parts of the world. Seeking to confront throw-back to medievalism by modern secular attitude is a difficult endeavour, far easier to take up similar, backward-looking postures in dealing with the menace. Also, just as the Jews were denounced in Nazi Germany as a threat to the economic prosperity of the nation as a whole so in India Muslims are today being made the scape-goats of impending decline, particularly of retail and small scale business, in the Indian countryside."<sup>1</sup>

Prof. Bipin Chandra remarks: "They (the Hindu nationalists) tend to identify the Indian nation with the Hindus....To view Pratap and Shivaji as national heroes and Akbar and Aurangzeb as foreigners is to project into past history current communal ways of thought. This is both bad history and a blow to national unity."<sup>2</sup> His understanding on Indian nationalism is also critical. Other critics of this thinking pin-point that fight between



Aurangzeb and Shivaji or Guru Govind Singh or fight between the kings, and it is not to be interpreted in communal line. Again, invasion of Mohammad Ghorl or Babar could not be termed as Muslim adventure. Again, the descendants of the "Muslim invaders" settled down in this country, and continued here as nationals under any definition of the term.

Sir Alfred C. Lyall, in his introduction to Valentine Chirol's "Indian Unrest" makes scathing attack, "....the beliefs and practices of popular Hinduism are obviously irreconcilable with the principle of modern civilisation; and the various indications of a desire to reform and purify their ancient religion be partly due to the perception among educated Hindus that so contradictory a position is ultimately untenable, that the incongruity between sacrifices to the goddess Kali and high University degree is too manifest."<sup>3</sup>

Further, when the 'dharma rajya' of ancient India is eulogised it is dubbed by the critics as defective. Pratapgiri is of the view that by accepting 'dharma' as the end of the state, the ancient thinkers seem to have attached greater importance to stability than to progress. He also argues that the sovereign is a position to that of ultimate superior defined by John Austin. Also, 'dharma' being identified with 'swadharma' or individual salvation, the main problem of determining the basis of political obligation tends to be blurred.<sup>4</sup>

Again, the Hindu nationalists do, no doubt, have social implications, but these are rather general and cannot be easily characterised in the service of political movements.<sup>5</sup> It was humbly conceded by K.N. Govindacharya, the BJP General Secretary, after the Party's debacle in 1993 Assembly election, that the Party failed to outline the socio-economic implications of Ram Rajya before the electorate.<sup>6</sup> Nehru, a protagonist of secular nationalism, states that he is not interested in metaphysical speculations or in such problems as those

of God, Soul, Karma and ultimate truth. He criticises that religion seems to give a permanent and even honoured place to poverty and even misery. The promises of reward of religion are all for some other world, he writes, here we are told to bear a lot with resignation and not to seek any fundamental change.<sup>7</sup> To similar kinds of critics, 'dharma' is mere abstraction.

While criticising the Hindu nationalism, the critics uniformly quote Golwalkar's "We, or Our Nationhood Defined", which reads thus : "The non-Hindu population in Hindusthan must adopt the Hindu culture and languages, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those glorification of Hindu race and cultures, i.e., they must not only give up their attitude of intolerance and ungrateful towards this land and its age-long tradition but also cultivate positive attitude of love and devotion instead, in a word, they must cease to be foreigners, or may stay in the country wholly subordinate to the Hindu nation, claiming, deserving no privileges, far from preferential treatment—not even citizen's rights."<sup>8</sup> Therefore, J.A. Curan, beside others, attempted to describe him as "the master of an Indian school of fascism."<sup>9</sup>

Thus, criticism dubbing Hindu nationalism ranges from the angles of communalism, theocracy, fundamentalism, regimentation and so on. Third volume of the present work is devoted exclusively to answer these questions. It is obvious that Indian thought-structure has been more elusive and is being appreciated after searching scrutiny. This assertion has been testified in history. After all, India shall have to face its history of centuries old inertia and decadence! Primary reasons behind all these apprehensions are that Indian political tradition is lacking academic formulation, and hence serious introspection is necessary for theory building in proper perspective.



It is alleged in the hypothesis of Hindu nationalism that quotations are picked up selectively in order to construct a pre-conceived doctrine. But this allegation is true for every theory-formulator, say, communism or imperialism etc. But one must dive deep into the underlying concept in its entirety keeping in mind the so-called ifs and buts. If the criticisms are articulated without substance no amount of logic can pacify them. In the name of modernism rotten western ideas are borrowed and Indian problems are measured from that standard. But the transparent tribunal of history separates the chaff from the grain, and Hindu nationalism would be triumphant crossing over the tests.

Certain allegations cropped up under the compulsions of certain background and reserved perception, which are really narrow in spite of its claim of broadness. As a matter of illustration, Rabindranath wrote the book 'Nationalism' during the horror of World War I. It was the overt reaction of Russo-Japanese War of 1905 and the jingoistic nationalism of Europe which pushed the world into the scourge of war in the decade to come. However, he conceded that the term nation in European sense can hardly be applicable to India; and he felt that such misapplications were really ironical.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, as J. Moore ventures to comment that Tagore's political voice was small compared with those of the Hindu nationalists.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, J.A. Holmes wrote "Patriotism is not Enough" under the backdrop of World War I. R.N. Gilchrist produced his work "Indian Nationality" in the year 1919, which is also not absolved from the same influence. Same is the case with the other contemporary critics.

E.H. Carr's understanding of nationalism is based on three phases, viz., revolution, war and evil.<sup>12</sup> And there is no answer to those who uphold myopic Marxist vision on nationalism. But case study reveals their bias of double standard on nationalism. Chinese have their



own and Soviet people had their own. But they unfailingly coloured nationalism in other countries as capitalist outfit and narrow tactics of the fascists. The present author had confabulation with Prof. Randhir Singh, a noted Marxist, who queried : "Well, what kind of nationalism you are studying? Racist, fascist or imperialistic?"<sup>13</sup> It is the limitation of their world view on nationalism.

Critics of every shade have unscrupulously bulldozed nationalism under the feet of internationalism. But Hindu nationalism suffers no confusion of this dichotomy. Hindu life philosophy is integral under which nationalism and internationalism do not cancel each other. Deendayal Upadhyay, one principal protagonist of this school, solves thus: "....Some others point out the intent contradiction of nationalism and world unity. The ardent nationalists again feel that the concept of world unity is a utopian dream and harp on intense nationalism. These two extremes appeared in West".<sup>14</sup> Aurobindo Ghose had dealt with the problem more assiduously, to whom, various stages of life—family, society, nation, etc. are to co-exist fulfilling its own task within the respective spheres. He picked up nationalism as the conspicuous phase in the process of evolution.<sup>15</sup> Ram Manohar Lohia, one socialist thinker, believes that nationalism is not antithetical to universalism, and hence it should not be discouraged. His paradigm was that Buddha radiated world peace and at the same time goodwill for India.<sup>16</sup>

Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das answers the point with chaste simplicity in his Presidential Address at the Bengal Provincial Congress in 1917 in Calcutta. "Some 'Pundits' (scholars) in Europe are said to have discovered that the nation-idea is entirely imaginary, that there is no distinct basis for distinct nationalities; that ethnically no race is pure, but has received admixture from other races as well; that further, owing to close and constant inter-communion between different races, the cultures which each has developed cannot be the exclusive property; and that if this nation-idea is cherished and

carried to its logical lengths, war will be inevitable and the ultimate interests of Humanity will suffer....It seems to me, then that the whole of this anti-nation idea is unsubstantial, based upon a vague and nebulous conception of universal humanity. Each nation must develop its latest manhood as a nation, here it is possible to rouse within them the sense of true amity and brotherliness. You cannot create universalism out of a vacuum; and if you abolish the sense of nationality, what will be the basis of your universal humanity? As the family cannot grow unless each individual within it grows at the same time; as society cannot grow unless each community embraced by it grows along with it; so Humanity at large cannot advance unless each different nation develop its distinctive type of character and as for the inevitable conflict between different nationalities, of which some people make so much, it is impossible to deny that the development of the nation idea leads on to a certain amount of necessary clash and conflict. But after all, must we abolish nationality because nations enter into war with another? Following the same strain of reasoning, will it be said that we must abolish individual existence because individuals are perpetually quarrelling with one another?.....The spirit of nationalism, is founded upon the permanent and immutable relation which subsists between a particular people and the land which they inhabit."<sup>17</sup>

C.R. Das, further, in his Presidential address at the Indian National Congress at Gaya in 1922 said: "I desire to emphasise that there is no hostility between the ideal of nationality and that of world peace. Nationalism is the process through which alone will world peace comes. A full and unfettered growth of nationalism is necessary for nationality. It is the conception of aggressive nationality in Europe that stands in the way of world peace; but once the truth is grasped that it is not possible for nation to inflict a loss on another nation without at the same time inflicting a loss on itself, the problem of Humanity is solved....that it is necessary for each nation



to develop itself and realise itself, so that Humanity express itself and realise itself."<sup>18</sup>

"Nationalism in Europe is an aggressive nationalism, a commercial nationalism of gain and loss. The gain of France is the loss of Germany and the gain of Germany is the loss of France. Therefore French nationalism is nurtured on the hatred of France. It is not yet realised that you cannot trust Germany without hurting Humanity....that is European nationalism."<sup>19</sup>

Ramsay Muir also shared this view when he lucidly elucidated that Austria in 1879 was persuaded by her fear of Prussia, Italy in 1882 by her jealousy of French expansion in northern Africa.<sup>20</sup> He felt that it is only on the basis of triumphant nationalism as "the great Napoleon saw a hundred years ago (written in 1916), that an effective internationalism can be realised."<sup>21</sup> The World War I "is, in essence, a repudiation of the European civilisation, is largely derived from that variety of culture which the national system maintains, and are insolvent assertion of the right of the single 'kultur' to impose its methods and its hideous moral standards upon all."<sup>22</sup>

Since nationalism in Europe has been the source of unhappiness to millions of people, it is generally believed that nationalism is an evil in itself, regardless of whether it is in Europe, Asia, Africa, or anywhere and under whatever circumstances. But such a belief is erroneous and is the result of a prejudiced evaluation of nationalism.<sup>23</sup>

Tagore also viewed that when "we are fully humans, we cannot fly at one another's throat, our instincts of social life, our traditions of moral ideals stand in the way."<sup>24</sup> Nationalism as a supreme expression of group sentiment in man capable of inspiring him to acts of great Heroism and self-sacrifice for the national group to which he belongs, has been a vital force in shaping the history of the world.<sup>25</sup> Ironically it infected the communist



world too.<sup>26</sup> During World War II, Russia had to revive and revitalise Russian nationalism. They lionised Peter and Katherine, presented Novesky and Suzonov as great national heroes and urged the communist youths to emulate them.<sup>27</sup> Nationalism is a duty even more than right; and "that the duty of upholding the national 'Dharma' is incompatible with intellectual slavery, and therefore he seeks to free himself, and through others like himself, his country."<sup>28</sup>

De Toqueville is convinced that the interests of the human race are better served by giving every man a particular fatherland than by trying to influence his passions for the whole of the community.<sup>29</sup> To C.J.H. Hayes, when nationalism becomes synonymous with the purest patriotism, it would prove a unique blessing to humanity and to the world.<sup>30</sup> An ideal international world means a world of living at their best, and therefore nationalism can become a path of internationalism.<sup>31</sup>

Erich Fromm observes that man of all ages and cultures is confronted with the solution of one and the same question: the question of how to overcome separateness, how to achieve union, how to transcend one's own individual life and find at oneness.<sup>32</sup> The Hindu nationalists are determined to overcome this problem resting exclusively on their cultural tradition and genius.

Nationalism stimulates a sense of dignity. It also provides a sense of identity in the way "What I am?" "What is my mission?" "Where I am going,"<sup>33</sup> etc. Jawaharlal Nehru too believes that nationalism is necessarily a group memory of achievement, traditions and experiences and whenever a crisis has arisen nationalism has emerged again and dominated the scene, and people have sought comfort and strength in their traditions.<sup>34</sup>

When different aspects of European model of nationalism are considered it may definitely smell evil.<sup>35</sup>

Entire thinking of this category of nationalism is the result of whole-sale import of the idea. It was also the finding of the London-based Royal Institute of National Affairs that tendency of European nationalism is contradiction, whereas that of Asian nationalism is co-operation. And India, beside other old civilisations of Asia, has nothing to learn from western nationalism.<sup>36</sup> Indian nationalism is positive and not based on antagonism to any one else.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, John Woodroffe concludes: "I think that it will be to the benefit of the world at large that it should have the help of the Indian people infused by the Indian spirit".<sup>38</sup> He adds, "Where can be found a finer saying, than 'To do good to others is the highest religion—'Paropakara hi paramo dharma' (serving for others' welfare is the greatest religion). This is true civilisation and India has evolved it."<sup>39</sup> "Mankind should, according to Vedanta, learn to live without harm to any man or nation, and then he will, as India has done, do reverence to all animate being."<sup>40</sup>

So far as Hindu nationalism is concerned Valentine Chirol stands in the dock as the avowed critic who used to report for the *Time* magazine in the first decade of the current century.<sup>41</sup> He lamented Hindu nationalism as rank revivalist. Following this pro-British imperialist and anti-Indian nationalist journalist, the Indian authors too, do subscribe chapters in their respective works on Modern India, entitled "Hindu Revivalism" and even "Militant Nationalism" on Dayananda, Vivekananda, Congress Extremists and the like. Gold cannot be rejected on the plea that it is old. It was really not revivalism but renaissance or rejuvenation. A word must connote the thought-structure of the given phenomenon. Certain vested interests used certain pejorative terms and we became prisoner of it! Rabindranath Tagore invoked the Vedas at the inauguration of Vishvabharati. It does not mean that it was a communal or revivalist act.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, Upanishadic verses were recited while inaugurating the Government sponsored 'Bharat Mahotsav' in Moscow, beside other cities of the world, at the time of inauguration



in 1986. These are natural expressions symbolising the great cultural tradition, and in no way it affects modernism, which is verily defined to suit one's convenience.

Dr. Radhakrishnan's rationale dispels the charge of revivalism thus—that most people do not realise the wealth of our heritage. "Allegiance to the heritage does not mean", he continues, "that we are bound to our past. Tradition is not something which cripples life, nor does it signify an attempt to cling to something which is dead and gone. It is not a harking to the past but the continuity of a vital spirit which pervades a people."<sup>43</sup> These are beyond the comprehension of the critics with definite frame-work of intellect and they have no other way but to hurl abuse. But continuity of this kind of cultural heritage has made the Indian national life alive with dynamism, and this testifies its relevance.

There is a mild point put forward by Lajpat Rai in his work "Arya Samaj" when he makes plea in the last para that Indian nationalism would be more commendable than Hindu nationalism.<sup>44</sup> While having a chat with Prof. Balraj Madhok, the latter tried to clarify that the circumstance leading to and after Lucknow Pact was fluid. The nationalists felt constraint to make rapprochement to look forward. Again, Muslim communalism had not displayed its *volte face* by that time. So Lajpat Rai's view ought to be judged from this backdrop. However, viewed in entirety Rai's thinking was nothing short of Hindu nationalism.<sup>45</sup>

James Campbell explains the religion factor under the title "Religion the Path Natural to the National Mind" in his work thus : "All great awakening in India, all her periods of mightiest and most varied vigour have drawn vitality from the fountain heads of some deep religious awakening. Whether the religious awakening has been complete and grand, the national energy it has created has been gigantic and puissant, whenever the religious



movement has been narrow or incomplete, the national movement has been broken, imperfect or temporary."<sup>46</sup> This justifies the methodology and commitment of the nationalists on religion.

Indeed, religion and politics are Siamese twins, which cannot be separated without risking the life of the political system; and this principle equally corresponds to religion and nation. Religion covers the totality of life, establishes ethos, guides morality; and politics is there to solve the problems of men in the society. Man is social and political, and equally religious. So, talking of their insulation as demanded by the critics is sinister. Ram Jethmalani in his characteristic style explains in the context of Hinduism thus: "....How can there be a religion which has no rigid dogmas demanding belief of a pain of eternal damnation, on theological postulates, even no fixed theology, no credo distinguishing it from antagonistic or rival religious systems? How can it be called a religion when it admits all beliefs and discourages no spiritual experience or adventure...."<sup>47</sup>

Edward Krehbeil rightly observes that each state is supposed to stand for something 'sui generis' to have a personality and qualities peculiar to it and not attainable by other peoples; and its ideals for 'kultur' are supposed to be incompatible with others and not to lead to conflict.<sup>48</sup> Delivering lecture in Oxford University in 1926 Dr. Radhakrishnan explained the Hindu theory that every nation has an individuality and the Hindu solution could resolve the conflicts.<sup>49</sup> Indian nationalism, beside some others, is something deeper than the nationalism of the West, and therefore richer in problems and potentialities.<sup>50</sup>

Some authors, again, look Indian nationalism as mere struggle against British rule in India, and put similar type of titles euphemistically for their respective works. Instances are numerous. To cite certain examples—"The Nationalist Movement of India" by J.P. Suda and V.D. Mahajan. To Bipin Chandra, the national movement was

mere an anti-imperial movement.<sup>51</sup> Rasheedudin Khan writes : "A new India is emerging in the backdrop of a colonial and feudal past."<sup>52</sup> Krishna Kripalani writes: "For 2000 years or more...there was 'Bharat varsa', but no Indian nation as the term would be understood today."<sup>53</sup> They seem to toe the line of Ramsay Muir<sup>54</sup> and Prof. Laski.<sup>55</sup>

Hans Kohn presents "Preludes to Nation-States" in the light of the French and German experience during the period of 1789-1815. In "Nations Before Nationalism", John Armstrong out and out devotes an anatomy of western nationalism, which is hardly relevant to that of India.

Rajani Palme Dutt, following the same stream, observes that the terms 'Indian Nation' and 'Indian National Movement' are used to describe the unity of India against British imperialism and the shaping their own political future.<sup>56</sup> In similar strain he devotes Chapter X of his work "India Today" entitled "The Rise of Indian Nationalism."<sup>57</sup> E.M.S. Namboodripad, following the footsteps of the same communist stock, presents his work on "National Integration."<sup>58</sup>

Some authors again perceive nationalism from the view-point of socio-economic and historical material dynamics. A.R. Desai's "Contemporary Tendency in Indian Nationalism" and "Social Background of Indian Nationalism" bear testimony to this tendency. Bipin Chandra's "Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India" deals strictly on economic dimension. R.S. Chacan and V.R. Mehta, similarly, present traditional writing synchronising it with national movement.<sup>59</sup> They also equate material progress with nationalism. John Mathai, further, presents nationalism exclusively in term of democratic development.<sup>60</sup> S.C. Ghose likewise attempts to sketch the growth of modern Indian education but prefers to entitle the work "Indian Nationalism."<sup>61</sup>



These works find resemblance with representative European authors. Let us see the edited work of Eugene Kamenka entitled "Nationalism" (the Nature and Evolution of an Idea), whereas Wang Gungwu has presented the nation-state as a legal entity in his article "Nationalism in Asia". The author here picturises traditional anti-colonial stunt, which is bound to regard nationalism in Asia with brief history.<sup>62</sup> The backleaf of the book inscribes: "Nationalism is a modern and initially European phenomenon to the political, social and economic progress inaugurated by the French and Industrial Revolution."<sup>63</sup>

Authors of the same school of thought put forth the history of the Indian National Congress as the history of the origin and development of national life in India.<sup>64</sup> It is what the title of Charan Mazumdar's work. Bipin Chandra exclusively deals with the role of Gandhi and Nehru in his work after the name "Essays on Indian Nationalism". In this way Kamna Kaushik is concerned with Lajpat Rai, Subhas Chandra Bose and Ram Manohar Lohia; but title of her work is "Russian Revolution and Indian Nationalism....." Elic Kedorie edited a work entitled "Nationalism in Asia and Africa", where he writes in the introduction: "Nationalism in Asia and Africa, it is generally agreed, is a reaction against European domination".<sup>65</sup> Sukhbir Chaudhuri's "Growth of Nationalism in India" as well as O.P. Goyal's "Contemporary Indian Political Thought" completely miss reference on Hindu nationalist thought. Title of the book "Subhas Chandra Bose and Middle Class Radicalism: A Study in Indian Nationalism" by Biduyt Chakraborty is erroneous for the same reason. Similarly, M.S. Vairanapillai believes, that Indian nationalism belongs to the variety of "oppressive nationalism,"<sup>66</sup> which owes to the constant political struggle against foreign domination.<sup>67</sup> C.M. Naidu's "Nationalism in South Asia" studies government policies in socio-economic aspects. Also Narinder Mehta<sup>68</sup> and Verinder Grover<sup>69</sup> fall in the same trap. Pratap Sarbadh Kari makes traditional politico-economic approach to understand nationalism. In



contemporary international society, he writes, nationalism is invariably regarded as a problem of the new immature poverty stricken Third World.<sup>70</sup> Rajani Kothari in his work "Politics in India" devotes Chapter VIII for political institutionalisation and national integration in traditional form.<sup>71</sup> Yogesh Atal in his work "Building a Nation: Essays on India" devotes on modern behavioural theories in nation-building. N.M.P. Srivastav's work "Growth of Nationalism in India" is more peculiar where he lays stress on Russo-Japanese war to ascribe Indian nationalism. It is misleading to endorse Mushirul Hasan who contemplates the year 1947 as the origin of Indian nation.<sup>72</sup> The title of his work "Nationalism and Communal Politics in India" also remains at the receiving end and does not reflect the character of Indian nationalism.

These are not precisely the areas which lead to high-light nationalism or for that matter Hindu nationalism. And in case any work deals with the latter it ends with absurdity. Those who hold and display the perception of conventional ideas are sceptic on Hindu nationalism for their own reservations. It is evident from an instance that following the collapse of Soviet Union aspersion was cast on erosion of nation-state system. Intellectuals of this thinking do possess pre-conceived notion that if something is congenial for the Communist Block it is positive for every country, and correspondingly if the Soviet Union failed it is ominous for the rest. To them, the Soviet Union has been the model for decades and when it collapsed every model must face disaster. But even common sense reminds one the methodology of creation of federalism in the Soviet Union *vis-à-vis* India. Rather fall of the Soviet vindicates the stand of cultural nationalism that no amount of artificial combination could hold the people together. Just as Hinduism was created by none nor was it in existence within a definite time-frame, Indian nation did not come into existence under any treaty nor was it created by any human being under a given circumstance. Natural course of nation-making

with religio-cultural base has kept Indian nation intact in spite of certain erosion, whereas countries concocted by heterogeneous elements like Czechoslovakia and Soviet Union smashed into pieces. Well, one can argue with the paradigm of dismemberment of India in 1947; but this logic also vindicates the stand of Hindu nationalism. Anyway, unlike western model India was not manifested as a result of permutation and combination of varied interests under certain conditions and even by application of force—military, political and diplomatic. When these compulsions were diluted under the driving force of history the states too winded off. This is the usual course in case of state-based nation which is pole apart from nation-based state, otherwise known as cultural nationalism.

It is again misleading that the historians depict only the ancient India as the period of Hindus, which is nothing but James Mill's (mis) division of Indian history into Hindu India (Ancient period), Muslim India (Medieval period), and British India (Modern period). This kind of division provides signal that only the ancient period belonged to the Hindus, and tacitly it implies that all of them were invaders involving the bogey of Aryan immigration too. Gopal Krishna Gokhale is a representative moderate, whose contention is striking. In his words, "It is argued that Mohammedans had ruled in India for five centuries. It must not however be forgotten that the Hindus had ruled for countless centuries there and even afterwards before the Britishers came on the sea...."<sup>73</sup> Let us see the work of Vincent Smith entitled "Ancient Hindu India". Akhoy Kumar Mazumdar's "The Hindu History", which dates back from 3000 B.C. to 1200 A.D. U.N. Ghosal's work entitled "A History of Hindu Political Theory" begins with Vedic period and ends with Kautilya. Similarly, C.P. Bhabri and V.P. Verma write political thought or Hindu polity referring particularly to the ancient period as if Hindu phenomenon is something of the past and it was routed out with alien invasions! S.B. Kulkarni, following Mill and Gokhale, observes,



"Indian history is divided into three-fold cyclic period, viz., Hindu, Islamic and British....the Hindu period brackets between the Vedic Age and the rise of the Muslim power in India in 1200 A.D."<sup>74</sup>

P.R. Dubhasi, Vice-Chancellor of Goa University, rightly appraises on Indian nation thus : "....One describes....India as not a nation but a nation in making for getting that India that is Bharat has been a nation in the making since 5000 years."<sup>75</sup> History and geography, culture and civilisation, nature and nurture, language and literature and legend, philosophical thoughts and ways of living, all had created a national consciousness throughout the length and breadth in the past. The feeling of one nation which had been deeply implanted in the psyche of our people was greatly consolidated....Less offensive than the theory which describes India as a nation in the making is another that describes India as a federal nation. Federalism is an attribute of a state and not a category of a nation....the fact remains that even small nations like Belgium and Switzerland have linguistic and cultural diversity, but these are not called federal nations. To single out India for the special epithet, and therefore, to suggest that India is somewhere different from a single nation is to do injustice to the pervasive sense of oneness of the Indian people."<sup>76</sup> In fact, nationalities are political sub-structures nested in a large social and cultural whole."<sup>77</sup>

Many authors have, on the contrary, contributed a lot on the development of Hindu nationalist thought. William archer wrote a book entitled "India and the Future" condemning Indian civilisation. But Sir John Woodroffe, an Indian Civil Service Officer, submitted a befitting reply in 1919 by means of his book "Is India Civilised?" he had high appreciation for sublime Hindu culture and civilisation. This is a superb work, where Charan Sharan writing Preface in the second edition in 1979 replies thus: "Hinduism ought to be taken as a convenient term that stands for Indian nationalism and



culture, whereas if God comes, he is not to be discarded and if he is discarded anywhere, none is to be blamed for that."<sup>78</sup>

Similarly, Miss Mayo, an American national, wrote a book called "Mother India", where she made unscrupulous villification of Hindu culture. Lala Lajpat Rai made a befitting reply to her infamous propaganda in his book "Unhappy India".

Aurobindo Ghose and Bipin Chandra Pal has left massive works on Hindu nationalism and its conceptual foundation, which comes within the ambit of the next volume.

William Corlet and John Moore presented a work "The Hindu Sound", where they explained the relevance of Hinduism in a "multi-racial, socially-disoriented world".<sup>79</sup> Likewise, Ronald Inden, Professor of South Asia History and Associate Member of the University of Chicago contributed a worthwhile book "Imagining India" to the effect, Max Muller and Vincent Smith stand at achille's heel in presenting the high mark of Hindu culture and civilisation—however with their own characteristic style and reservations. In spite of their glorification of it, they do not earn applause from the Hindu nationalists for their bias on Aryan origin.

Savitri Devi, a Greek-turned Indian lady contributed a worthwhile work entitled "A Warning to the Hindus" in 1939. It stood as a popular work then next after Savarkar's "Hindutva". Lord Meston has presented a prolific account on Hindu nationalism and its implications. B.D. Graham's work "Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics : Origin and Development of Bharatiya Jana Sangh" also spells a great deal on the subject—so also Baxter's Jana Sangh.

These references constitute just the tip of the iceberg. Abundant works have been subscribed on the subject by means of speeches, writings in the form of

books, booklets, articles and editorials. Many of these have been referred in the next Volume. Yet, certain references are made here in order to prepare a consistent reply to the critics.

Golwalkar's "We, or Our Nationhood Defined" created much storm among the critics. But in fact it is a translation of the original Marathi work "Rashtra Mimansa" by Babarao Savarkar. However, the content was greatly misinterpreted and misquoted by the critics. When the book appeared in 1939 it was the period of Islamic fissiparous hegemony in India; and really the Muslim League demanded Pakistan next year in its Lahore session. Golwalkar raised the question of loyalty to the Indian nation in the said work. But his reference to Nazism was not felt suitable in view of Nazi onslaught after 1939. Any statement must be judged on the basis of circumstantial reality and cannot be spurned isolating it from the entirety. Subhas Chandra Bose also admired Fascism in 1934 in view of its grand scheme of national reconstruction; but he had to revise his appraisal by 1939 under changed circumstance.<sup>80</sup> Did the Soviet Union not conclude a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany in August 1939?<sup>81</sup> But the communists leave no stone unturned to hurl "We, or Our Nationhood Defined". The book is transparently rich in relation to Hindu nationalism. It appeared as fourth publication in 1947 with slight modification and it was the last edition. Again, it was not official publication of any organisation, and it remained unnoticed. Golwalkar himself ignored reference on the book while he was queried in 1961.<sup>82</sup> If some work is disowned under changed circumstance it is foul to poke one's nose. Rather his work "Bunch of Thoughts" counts much as a macro-revelation of Hindu nationalism.

"An Obscure Hindu" presents a compiled work entitled "Grave Danger to Hindus", where he uses expressions like "India is essentially the land of the Hindus",<sup>83</sup> and "Hindus form the nation of India."<sup>84</sup> He further asserts that India extending from the Himalayas



to Cape Comorin, if it is to continue as the land of the Hindus, if the culture and civilisation of the Hindus are to be protected and preserved there should be the realisation on the part of the Hindu population in general of the danger that is threatened by them.<sup>85</sup> He has ardent love for 'Hindusthan', for the 'Hindu Rashtra' and its glorious tradition. To him, Hindu philosophy and Hindu tradition are based on the fundamental principle of mutual love, and the sanctity of life. He gives a clarion call to the Hindus who have been emaciating since ages. He sharply reacts to Jinnah's two-nation theory and Congress appeasement policy and eulogised Hinduism at the cost of western civilisation.<sup>86</sup>

One of the latest works is Gurudutt's "Hindu Rashtra" in Hindi where he ventures to present a blueprint on Hindu state. He clarifies the distinction between the nation and the state *vis-a-vis* Dharma and religion. This work appeared, in fact, as a reply to the "Illustrated Weekly of India", which had published the "Readers' View" on "Should India be a Hindu State?" where it dubbed the concept itself.<sup>87</sup> Prof. Balraj Madhok's "Rationale of Hindu State" published in 1982 deserves much acclaim. Recent publication of "Rashtra" in Hindi in 1992 and "Third Way" by D.B. Thengadi in 1995 reflect the totality of Hindu nationalism in comparative method. Beside these there are abundant works as evident from the bibliography.

The definition of nation, concept of Hinduness, and the idea of Hindu nationalism are to be reconciled, and the rationale of national substratum of India is to be determined without any bias. The test of one's nationality is his commitment. Sister Nibedita identified herself with Indian life and accepted this land as holy.<sup>88</sup> Hence she is regarded as a perfect Indian without assignation of anybody. This is the objective aspect. Even subjectively, Hindu Code defines Hindu as one who is not a Muslim, Christian, Jew or Parsee. But to the Hindu nationalists even these so-called non-Hindus are to be Hinduised,



i.e., Indianised. It does not amount to conversion since it is not a religious question but national. Prof. Madhok devotes a chapter on the same point in his work "Indianisation" with esoteric diligence.

Vivekananda had addressed, "Just as you would feel when some-one insults your mother, so should your blood boil with righteous indignation when Christian Missionaries abuse Hinduism or convert a brother of yours".<sup>89</sup> Savitri Devi proclaimed in 1939 that "What we want to defend, we repeat is Hindu civilisation, whose number is increasing everyday. They are the body of Hinduism, of which high philosophies and spiritual realisations are everlasting soul."<sup>90</sup> She exhorted, "We defend Hinduism, because it is India's very self-expression".<sup>91</sup> John Woodroffe's remarks, as early as 1919, is very much of interest even today. He observes, "Mr. William Archer has called 'aggressive Hinduism', a phrase which reminds me of the complaint of the wolf against the lamb, and of the French sacrasme, "This is a wicked animal. It defends itself when it is attacked" (c'est un machant animal. It se defend quand an l'attaque). It is noteworthy that the little word called aggressive Hinduism is from.....Sister Nivedita. There is no harm in attack if rightly made and many hold it to be best defence."<sup>92</sup>

The Hindu nationalist do react Pan-Islamism which threatens not only the integrity of Indian nation but also world peace. This must be discerned from nationalistic and internationalistic standpoint and not religion. The "Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC)'s three days meeting in April 1993 expressed its concern over Kashmir and Ayodhya, which deserves condemnation by India. The editorial of *Indian Express* wrote: "Pan-Islamism as a political creed has been a threat to peace and moderation in international affairs in recent years in the same way as Soviet-controlled communism was for 40 years after the Second World War. This has again been demonstrated by the three-day meeting of the Foreign Affairs Ministers of the Organisation of Islamic Conference in Karachi. Its

resolutions and communique certainly reflect an attempt on the part of a few countries like Egypt and Algeria to curb the dangerous fervour of the Islamic fanatics of other countries but it is the latter who have reason to be elated at having drowned the voices of sanity eventually. The net outcome has been to alert the intended victims of destabilisation to which the OIC has committed itself. No one can be fooled by the Pan-Islamists' bid to cover up their true design by trying to put human rights protection on international terrorism.<sup>93</sup>

To have an appraisal it can be recalled that aggressors like the Greek, the first to step on Indian soil, followed by Huns, Kushans and Shaks—who were not only humbled on the battlefield but also those who stayed over in India were totally assimilated by the Hindus into their body politic. And latter against the Islamic invaders too, the Hindus swayed a relentless struggle for 800 long years, probably the most stirring saga of crusades for national freedom ever witnessed anywhere on the face of the earth. And then, there was also the other tragic face that it was the Hindus who, because of their disunity and dissention, became responsible for the nation's downfall also. All these facts have been acknowledged in unambiguous terms by all the great historians. This is precisely the reason why this land has been called Hindustan, the cradle-land of the Hindus—which demonstrates verily that this is Hindu Nation. The expression 'Hindu Rashtra' only represents the social and philosophical thought that has moulded the course of India's history over millenia.<sup>94</sup>

Lest, whenever the question of Hindu consolidation is raised, critics become vocal with wide throat that there are bigger issues like price rise and unemployment to be dealt with. But why these points should be confused with Hindu nationalism? India is to make progress; but directionless progress is retarding. Foundation of the nation must be determined at the outset, out of which everything would crop up. Hindu nationalism does not



deny progress in other fronts. It is rather the objective of the Hindu nationalists to keep the nation at the apex of progress.

Hugh Seton probes two categories of nationalism, viz., cultural and political; and to him the former is of superior category,<sup>95</sup> which is subscribed by the Hindu nationalists. The former may also be called 'ideological' and latter 'traditional' — former symbolising values like culture, heritage, and latter manifesting ethos like liberty, equality, etc.<sup>96</sup> Though such distinction is made, Hindu nationalism is not alienated from the modern values in different walks of life.

Nirad C. Chaudhuri summarises in a different manner and outlines three phases of nationalism, viz., (i) liberal, (ii) neo-Hindu, and (iii) Gandhian. To him, the first two are nearer. The first two looked more to the West and less to India's past, whereas the third was just reverse (the present author, of course, feels otherwise). However, his substance was that "In the competition between the three forms of modern Indian nationalism the victory went in the first round to neo-Hinduism, and the second to Gandhism, but in the end triumphant that far older thing, the 'atavistic nationalism' of the Hindu....."<sup>97</sup>

Dawa Norbu opines that the structure of nationalism consists of two equally powerful components: traditional data (such as race, language, literature, tradition, territorial), and equalitarian ideology (such as freedom, equality and fraternity).<sup>98</sup> He alleges that pejorative words to nationalism has been used, such as parochialism, tribalism, communalism, splitism, primordialism, ethnic revivalism, etc.<sup>99</sup> which have no relevance to Hindu nationalism. Again, Hindu nationalism conforms both equalitarian data as well as 'traditional' data as Norbu points out. Rather the present author prefers to brand the prevailing western concept of nationalism as traditional, and Hindu nationalism as ideological, so much so that western model has not been able to cross the



limitations of nineteenth century and yet to evolve alternative.

Precisely, as another author studies, the basis for Hindu nationalism, as opposed to the politics of minorityism, is history and culture rooted in religion.<sup>100</sup> Though these points are mere repetitions, yet it is intended to be emphasised since it is the fundamental fact but squarely getting challenge from the other side of the fence.

Tolerance is virtue—embellishment of a strong; whereas it is shield of cowardice to a weak. Only a powerful society can display the virtue of tolerance. Religious toleration in India in the current century as an excuse to cover of minority hegemony. It has only fuelled insatiable thirst for concession. Golwalkar cites example of an incident relating to Bhima to explain the point. That a demon, in Mahabharata, was being satiated by the villagers by sending a human life and a cart-load of cakes everyday. Listening to it Bhima exhibited his prowess and killed the demon—the problem was over for all time to come. Similarly, the demands, such as separate electorate, minority safeguard, etc. were going on culminating the partition of the country. But once the Hindu society presents its paramount image and acts like Bhima, entire episode of minority claims would be over.<sup>101</sup> This reminds one statement of Mahatma Gandhi, "If a circumstance comes when I am to choose between only alternatives—cowardice and violence, I would choose violence."<sup>102</sup> "When a burglar is inside your house and you have no other alternative, the only course left is to use force against and kick him out". It is not any community who is villain here, it is the very feeling of appeasement and minorityism played by the political players which is eating into the vital's of the nation. A consolidated society is the only answer to all these diverse and complex problems of long-term range.

Hindu nationalism is not something a novel

phenomenon. It is the expression of Indian communitarian life since millenia—the sum-total of India and whatever it connotes. Distortion of history, continuous aberration in India's national life, and ambivalence of political players brought it into the doorstep of degeneration. It is painstaking to notice the idea of some eminent journalists who express that "we girted our loin on 15 August 1947 to build a nation in India which is in half-way at present."<sup>103</sup> It is nothing but an instance of lack of introspection. The concept of undivided India of the Hindu nationalists are blurred with this kind of expression. Indulgence of self-deception leads to decadence.

No country gets birth in the form of a nation. The people of a given land develop into a nation with the march of history. It does not stop at a particular point. It is continuous flow. Land, people, language, religion and culture are the basic ingredients of a nation; but which was discovered only in nineteenth century.<sup>104</sup> A nation is a cultural entity which evolves over time and whose people develop a special sense of affinity to the land inhabited.<sup>105</sup> Factually subjective feeling of oneness is more vital than any of the said ingredients of a nation.

Moreover, the idea of Hindu nation is inclusive of the entire humanity which is ingrained in the very temperament of Hindu life. Hindu thinking comprises the whole universe as follower of 'Vishva Dharma'. One author explains, "When national freedom had to be established in the whole of Italy, the base of operation was Piedmont. In Germany it was Prussia. When 'hindavi Swaraj' was to be established in Shivaji's times, Maharashtra became the base of operation. In the same way, if 'Vishva Dharma' is to be established in the whole world, India shall be the base of the operation."<sup>106</sup> Hindu nationalism aims at achieving this. Subhas Chandra Bose expected thus: "The ideal of humanity must be realised through a nation, and that is India."<sup>107</sup> It is apprehended by certain critics that the international communist movement has yielded place to Pan-Islamism as the main



threat to the peace and stability of the world.<sup>108</sup> However, Lajpat Rai had made forecast long back that there is no fear of a Pan-Islamic movement if the true spirit of internationalism prevails<sup>109</sup> and which can be fulfilled with the beacon of Hindu nationalism.

As a matter of agony no idea other than Hindu nationalism has been subject to more misrepresentation. Perusal vision and reappraisal of traditional study may shed aside misconception. The Hindu nationalists would like to blast the whole thought-structure provided by the colonial super-structure which does not find any glimpse of virtue or hope with Hindu concepts. Aryan origin, Ayodhya tangle, Kashmir episode—all provide clue to it. But it is to be observed that when these issues were earlier laughed at as mere communal syndrome have of late assumed the cause of mass movement, and in case of Aryan issue much intellectual churning is on the card in recent time.<sup>110</sup>

H.V. Seshadri makes a fervent summary of the deliberation—that Hindu nationalism is neither a mere political ideology nor much less an 'ism'. It is the supreme fact of this soil. What the advocates of Hindu nationalism are trying to do is just to make the Indian people realise this in most reality of India's national life. After all, a nation, just as an individual, can evolve only when it attempts itself to its inborn genesis. It would also strive its utmost to throw off any obstacles imposed upon it that might thwart its natural evolution. It would reject every such imposed theory or plan or project that is foreign to its native genius and ethos. That is how it is found that several theories and plans imposed from either the democratic West or the Communist Bloc have miserably failed to click here. Since independence, socialism, socialistic pattern of society, democratic socialism and all such slogans had had a field day at one time or another. They are seen like meteors for a moment and then vanished from the horizon of Indian politics.<sup>111</sup> When communism and capitalism have failed to guide



the world to achieve perfection, it is the Hindu philosophy which could lend support to the world with its capacity of assimilation and broader horizon.<sup>112</sup> Whenever Hindus have consolidated and expressed themselves as a nation not only India, but the world as a whole has been benefited. However, India cannot achieve anything concrete unless the Hindu identity of the nation is recognised and established without the artificial conception of composite culture.<sup>113</sup> Archer is to be "recalled in this context, who described India as the home and nursery of religion, philosophy and culture" and expected to "rise in her glory for the salvation of the world."<sup>114</sup> It talks of "Sarvabhuta Hita" (welfare of all). Lajpat Rai had made it clear that "we have no ambition to conquer and rule other peoples, we have no desire to exploit foreign markets, nor even to impose our 'kultur' and our civilisation on others, but we leave no stone unturned to make the world prosperous."<sup>115</sup>

"Let there be one religion, one race, one kingdom, one law, let the doctrine of universal good be the motto of one and all."<sup>116</sup> Vivekananda hopefully asked: "Believe, believe, the decree has gone, the fiat of the Lord has gone, India must rise, the mass, the poor are to be made happy, and rejoice that you are the chosen instrument in His hands."<sup>117</sup> Let the Vedic proclamation of universal peace and happiness prevail. These are, in sum, the underlying objective philosophy of resurgent Hindu nation.

The whole work has been both defensive and offensive. Offence is the best defence, and it is equally applicable in the present context since the cause of Hindutva has been diluted in the way which needs a comparative approach for clarity. The objective is really positive. When two clear cut diverse approaches have been presented it is constraint to be so. The hypothesis seems to be mystic somewhere while sometimes passionate. But due emphasis is laid on reasoning. Every theory is apparently contained with certain kind of

predilection since it views a definite problem from a particular angle. The whole concept of Hindu nationalism is discerned from the stand-point of cultural ethos, and this is true presentation of India. This kind of nationalism has been boon to India and the world at large. If India can help the intellectual paradise of mankind this way it is certainly commendable, and one must not be tied up with the rigidity of western territorial secular model.

Further, while concluding one point must be made clear that Hindu nationalism does not aim at any political system building as usually understood under different 'isms' sprouted in West. It is not an ideology nor a theory in strict sense. There is not a definite blue-print or scheming to manifest. It is mere an expression of Indianhood. It does not clamour for recognition, it is a mere question of realisation by the Indians in particular and the world in general. Sun cannot be explained in term of political and economic theory. So, Hindu nationalism is an axiomatic fact put forward with a view to erasing the distortions arising out of long-standing colonial rule on one hand and lack of introspection at home on the other. If the colonial super-structure is overcome and Indian history and culture is visualised in proper perspective the whole scenario become crystal clear. The same kind of paradigm may be evolved by different peoples of the world in order to explore a greater identity of mankind.<sup>118</sup> Further, following pulled off from colonial chain different nations have really indulged in re-writing of their history to present their true image. India may be the only major nation which is lagging behind in the direction. Hence the urgency of this work. For every debate challenging the traditional set ideas certain eye-brows must be raised, and which have been assiduously dealt with in subsequent volumes.

In the long-run, the conceptual foundation of Hindu nationalism reveals certain findings which may summarised thus:



- (i) Hindu nationalism and Indian nationalism are synonymous and convertible. Yet the first expression is being used by the Hindu nationalists in order to emphasise their inclination.
- (ii) It precedes that the Hindu does constitute the national substratum in India.
- (iii) Hindu does not refer to a religion, but signifies the geo-cultural offshoot of Indian nationhood.
- (iv) It rejects cultural pluralism and upholds monastic cultural wholistic approach. Of course, it does not marginalise the sub-cultures existing within the galaxy of National Culture.
- (v) Its plea is for nation-based state as distinguished from state-based nation.
- (vi) It is cultural nationalism as distinguished from territorial nationalism.
- (vii) It is averse to communalism and theocracy. It stands for 'Dharma' not religion as such. It is "Dharma sapeksha, not Dharma nirapeksha". It is secular in the sense that it recognises religious freedom, but does not institutionalise religion.
- (viii) It upholds the age-long culture, tradition, heritage and point of honour of this land. It comprises total wavelength of Indian national life. It reads Indian history in its entirety.
- (ix) It represents political, economic, social and every dimension of national life. However, it does not adhere to any 'ism' which unleashes dogma.
- (x) It is repulsive to the traditional concept of nation cropped up in West. It puts forward the ethos of 'Rashtra' which has wider perspective. Though it is akin to the Idealist and Organic theory of the West it unfolds its unique features.
- (xi) Hindu nationalism supplants all narrow creeds and regimentation. It is humanistic and universalistic.



Perusal study of Hindu nationalism give rise to certain understanding in analytical development of nationalistic theory, which elevates to the level of a universal ideology.

- (i) It establishes the actual role of nationalism in global perspective.
- (ii) It recognises assimilation within and without, and seeks fundamental unity. In other words, it is inclusive not exclusive. It is not fundamentalist but liberal.
- (iii) Politics is not central to human life. While recognising the dignity of the individual and humanity, it demands his political relationship to be redefined.<sup>119</sup>
- (iv) Nationalism is not antagonistic to internationalism for that matter, rather it is precursor to the latter.
- (v) It appreciates the values of each and every society, and different schools of thought. This recognition is not disintegrative rather integrative. Mutual appreciation elevates man to a high plane.

Thus, while the concept of Hindu nationalism begins with a note of criticism and opposition to the traditional ideas shaped in West, the conclusion leads one to submit that it is expression of a great value with corresponding corollary ideas supplanting all narrow creeds and jingoism. It tends to redefine entire ramification of nationalism with a motive of establishing humanistic standard without jeopardising the national cultures. In fact, the latter buttresses the former. Hence, it stands as a positive factor and force to reckon with. This rational liberal tradition and potentiality of Hindu nationalism absolves it from any myopic standard.

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seek to reduce the political authority. Representative type of western theory are political pluralism and guild socialism. Authorities like G.D.H. Cole, Prof. Laski and the liberals by and large represented this school, while Indian school is represented by the cultural nationalists in general. Beside it, Mahatma Gandhi evoked the idea of 'Sarvodaya' which redefines the entire area of political and social relationship. This is not the scope of the present work. However, this reference may be kept in mind in order to comprehend this underlying concept of Hindu nationalism.



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